

BASHŌ and the *DAO*

The *Zhuangzi* and the Transformation of *Haikai*

Peipei Qiu

Bashō and the *Dao*

Bashō and the *Dao*

The *Zhuangzi* and the Transformation of *Haikai*

Peipei Qiu

University of Hawai'i Press
Honolulu

Printed in the United States of America

10 09 08 07 06 056 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Qiu, Peipei, 1954–
Bashō and the Dao : the Zhuangzi and the transformation of Haikai / Peipei Qiu.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8248-2845-3 (alk. paper)
1. Zhuangzi. Nanhua jing. 2. Japanese poetry—Edo period, 1600–1868—Taoist influences. 3. Matsuo, Bashō, 1644–1694 I. Title.
BL1900.C576Q253 2005
299.5'1482—dc22
2004027597

University of Hawaiʻi Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Designed by Lucille C. Aono

Printed by The Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group

To my parents

Contents

Foreword

It used to be quite normal in countries of the West when discussing Japanese literature or art to point out the enormous indebtedness to Chinese predecessors and to imply that the Japanese lacked creativity or imagination. When I first began to teach Japanese literature at Cambridge University, people who discovered my subject would sometimes ask, "Why in the world should you teach the literature of a race of imitators?" I am afraid that this viewpoint was fairly general, although once in a while I met people who had read the marvelous translations of Japanese literature by Arthur Waley. They knew that not everything that was good in Japanese literature could be dismissed as mere imitation. If similar standards were applied in discussing the plays of Shakespeare, it would not be difficult to demonstrate that he derived much in his plays from Plutarch or Seneca and that he merely rewrote sections of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. One might conceivably conclude that Shakespeare, lacking imagination of his own, had no choice but to borrow from others.

Fortunately, this kind of comparison and evaluation has all but disappeared. I have not heard for some time sneering references to an alleged Japanese lack of creativity, but perhaps some Chinese, deep in their hearts, remained convinced that the Japanese did nothing more than imitate their own culture. Peipei Qiu is quite a different kind of scholar. She acquired a solid background in Chinese literature and philosophy while majoring in Japanese literature at the graduate school of Peking University. She, better than anyone else, was in a position to decide whether or not Japanese literature was merely derivative, and she decided that it was indeed worthy of study. Because she combines a background in Chinese literature with her special interest in *haikai* poetry, she has been able to make a real contribution to our understanding of the role of a major Chinese text, the *Zhuangzi*, in the formation of the ideals and practice of a major Japanese poetic genre.

I first met Peipei Qiu in China during a visit to Peking about twenty years ago, then later in Japan where she was studying as a Japan Foundation Fellow. We always spoke Japanese together, and I had no reason

to think that she also knew English. When, a couple of years later, she appeared in my class at Columbia, I was astonished by her English, both spoken and written. She was the first graduate student I had advised who possessed a superior command of both Chinese and Japanese classical literature. It occurred to me that she was uniquely qualified to treat the Daoist influence on Japanese literature and culture, a subject that had long interested me. Qiu has put to excellent use her knowledge of both languages and cultures in writing a work that traces the ways in which different schools of *haikai* poetry, learning from the *Zhuangzi,* made use of the insights it gave them when writing their own, unmistakably Japanese, poetry. The summit of *haikai* poetry, it goes without saying, was the work of Matsuo Bashō, whose poetry and prose were deeply enriched by the *Zhuangzi.* Peipei Qiu treats Bashō's indebtedness to the *Zhuangzi* not as mere borrowing but as an example of cross-cultural fertilization at the highest level.

Donald Keene
October 2004

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Donald Keene, who led me to this topic and whose guidance and encouragement made this book possible. I am indebted to many people for assistance in writing this book, and it is impossible to mention them all here. Selecting from that endless list, I would like to thank my teachers at Columbia University, Haruo Shirane and Paul Rouzer, who gave me invaluable advice at the initial stage of this study; Paul Anderer, Hans Bielenstein, Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, Robert Hymes, Barbara Ruch, Edward Seidensticker, Paul Varley, Philip Yampolsky, and Pauline Yu, whose learning and counsel have been of immense benefit to me. I am also grateful to my teachers at Peking University, who gave me the basic training that enabled me to carry out this research.

This volume has built upon a huge number of studies by Japanese scholars, among whom I would like to mention, with deep gratitude, Ogata Tsutomu, Konishi Jin'ichi, Fukunaga Mitsuji, Hirota Jirō, and Morikawa Akira. All of them gave so generously of their time for consultations during my research in Japan. My research in Japan would not have been possible without the kind help of Hachiya Kunio, Kimura Hiroshi, and Mitsuta Kazunobu, who warmly guided and facilitated my study at their institutions in 1991 and 1998.

I owe a great debt to Sonja Arntzen, Carolyn Morley, David Barnhill, Eri Yasuhara, Eleanor Kerkham, Jesse Kalin, Lawrence Marceau, Amy Heinrich, Bryan Van Norden, Marie Guarino, John Carpenter, Edward Walsh, and the anonymous readers for University of Hawai'i Press, who read parts, chapters, or drafts at different stages of this research and provided invaluable comments. My special thanks go to my editors at University of Hawai'i Press: Pamela Kelley (acquisitions), Keith Leber (managing), and Barbara Folsom (manuscript), whose professionalism and tireless help have been exceptional. Thanks also to Ye Zhang, Yuan Feng, Yuan Xue, and Yong Wei for their warm friendship and support over the years, to Heather Dolan for her assistance in checking the manuscript, and to my research assistants at Vassar for their help. My

greatest debt is to my family; their love gave me the strength to complete the book.

Portions of the material in this volume previously appeared in academic journals. I thank the following parties for permission to reuse parts of these materials: *Japanese Language and Literature, Philosophy East & West, Japan Studies Review, Early Modern Japan;* Amy V. Heinrich, editor of *Currents in Japanese Culture;* and Steven Totosy de Zepetnek and Jennifer Jay, the editors of *East Asian Cultural and Historical Perspectives.* I also thank Columbia University Press for permission to use Burton Watson's translation of the *Zhuangzi* in this book, and Idemitsu Museum of Arts for permission to use Bashō's painting on the cover page.

This study was funded by a Japan Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, a Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences Post Doctoral Research Fellowship, and research funds from Vassar College, and was supported by the Institute of Oriental Culture, the University of Tokyo, International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, Japan, and Vassar College. To these organizations and institutions, I am deeply grateful.

General Notes

Texts. The citations of the works by the Teimon and the Danrin *haikai* schools are from *Koten haibungaku taikei* (Collection of classical *haikai* literature). All of Bashō's works are drawn from *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* (The complete works of Bashō). The analyses of the Daoist texts, the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi,* are based on the thirteenth-century rare editions *Laozi Juanzhai kouyi* and *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* (Juanzhai's vernacular explanations of the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi,* respectively), reprinted in Nagasawa Kikuya's *Wakokubon shoshi taisei* (Collections of major Chinese thinkers' works reprinted in Japan), volumes 9, 11, and 12. In discussing the intertextual relations between other Chinese texts and *haikai,* this study consults, whenever possible, the rare editions that were printed in Japan before the end of the seventeenth century.

Translations. Burton Watson's English translation of the *Zhuangzi, The Complete Works of Chuang Tsu,* is used herein except for the substitution of the Pinyin system of romanization for the Wade-Giles system and for a few passages I translated myself for technical reasons. All other translations of the Japanese and Chinese texts and titles are mine unless otherwise noted.

Personal names. This book follows the Chinese and Japanese practice of referring to persons by their surnames followed by their personal names rather than in the Western order. Writers who were known by their literary names, such as Bashō, are referred to by those names.

Terms and titles. This volume involves a relatively large amount of Japanese and Chinese terms. The modified Hepburn system of romanization is used for Japanese terms and names, and the Pinyin system is used for Chinese terms and names. An English equivalent accompanies a romanized term at its first appearance. When the meaning of a term changes in different contexts, different English equivalents are used. In the instance that a Chinese term also occurs in Japanese writings, the Chinese romanization is used when the context is Chinese and the Japanese romanization when the context is Japanese, with the Japanese or Chinese counterpart of the term provided in parentheses at its first occurrence.

This shifting back and forth between the Japanese and Chinese pronunciations of key terms creates a challenging aspect of the reading, but always using only the Chinese or Japanese romanization of a term would make that term seem unnatural when the context does not match. For example, it would be awkward to have Bashō speak of *zaohua* instead of *zōka*. In order to help the reader deal with the foreign terms, the book keeps all romanized terms in italics and repeats the English equivalent as well as the Japanese/Chinese counterpart of a romanized term after it has not been discussed for a while. Whenever needed, a note is provided to remind readers that a different English equivalent was used for the same term earlier. In addition, a glossary of Japanese and Chinese terms and names is provided.

Glossary. The names and terms in the Glossary are listed alphabetically according to their pronunciation, followed by their original language and English equivalent(s). When a name or term is used in both Chinese and Japanese, the term is listed under its Chinese romanization, followed by the Japanese romanization, the Chinese characters, and the English equivalent. The Glossary also provides a separate entry under the Japanese romanization of the same name or term, which refers the reader to the Chinese romanization. Because the number of Chinese and Japanese names and terms in the book is relatively large, the names and works of modern Chinese and Japanese writers and the titles of poems and short prose pieces are not included in the Glossary. Primary Japanese and Chinese sources are listed by title with the original language in the Selected Bibliography.

Introduction

Haiku's popularity is worldwide today, comparable even to the modern Western realistic novel. Indeed, Japanese *haiku* verses are now translated into many languages, *haiku* variants are being composed in different tongues on all the major continents, and a quick Internet search on *haiku* produces more than three million links on the subject. While the general interest in *haiku* continues to grow, few people outside Japan know about *haikai,* or comic linked verse, which gave birth to *haiku.* Even fewer know about the interesting role that Chinese Daoist classics played in its becoming a high art. This book examines an important epoch in the development of *haikai*—the *haikai* poets' adaptation of the Daoist classics, particularly the *Zhuangzi,* during the seventeenth century, a movement that contributed to *haikai's* transformation from an entertaining pastime to a serious art.

The latter half of the seventeenth century witnessed an interesting phenomenon in the development of Japanese poetry. When *haikai* overshadowed the classical *waka* (Japanese song) and *renga* (linked verse) to become one of the mainstays of the newly rising popular literature, *haikai* poets enthusiastically drew upon the Chinese Daoist texts, namely the *Zhuangzi. Haikai* poets' interest in the *Zhuangzi* grew almost simultaneously with the reflourishing of the genre in the middle of the century, when the Teimon School prevailed. This interest continued in the succeeding Danrin and Shōmon schools in the 1670s and 1680s, and the Daoist classic became one of the cornerstones of *haikai* theories and its intertextual structure.

The impact of the *Zhuangzi* on *haikai* is clearly documented in the *haikai* literature of the time. The Danrin School took Zhuangzi's *gūgen*[1] as the hallmark of *haikai;* as its leader, Nishiyama Sōin (1605–1682), declared, "*haikai* is the *gūgen* of *waka,* the *kyōgen* (eccentric drama or com-

edy) of *renga*."[2] Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694), the founder of the Shōmon School who gained posthumous popularity as Japan's greatest *haikai* poet, repeatedly instructed his followers to study the *Zhuangzi*. According to his disciples, Bashō's teaching on *haikai* "encapsulated the quintessence of Zhuangzi's thought."[3] Although the impact of the *Zhuangzi* on *haikai* is remarkable, there has been no systematic study in any Western language on this issue. The absence of Western scholarship is not surprising, because the lack of attention to Daoism in Japan has been a general situation in Japanese studies.

Although the presence of Daoism in Japan has never been questioned, the study of it is very limited in both Japanese and Western scholarship. In 1923, Kuroita Katsumi made the first formal study on Daoism in early Japan,[4] but this pioneering work did not inspire immediate interest among Japanese Daoist scholars. The lack of consequential interest has both historical and political dimensions. Since the medieval period, the prevailing emphasis on Confucianism among Japanese scholars more or less stigmatized Daoism, creating a general impression that it was unworthy of serious contemplation because of its magical and folk character.[5] In the early modern period, the opinions of the National Learning *(kokugaku)* scholars further disapproved of the study of Daoism in Japan. Although the intellectual environment of early modern Japan was not entirely hostile to Daoist teaching—even some of the National Learning scholars, such as Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), made favorable comments on the Daoist classics *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*—the National Learning movement as a whole laid the foundation for the elevation of Shintō to a state doctrine, which created a myth of Japanese uniqueness that denied any substantial Chinese influence on early Japanese thought and religious belief.[6] Moreover, Japan's militaristic effort to conquer Asia and control the world in the 1930s and 1940s made the study of any Daoist influence in Japanese culture heretical, for a critical view of Japan's cultural heritage would be considered a challenge to the uniqueness and supremacy of the "divine imperial state" *(kōkoku)*.[7] It is not surprising that until, in the late 1970s, Fukunaga Mitsuji published his extensive studies on the role Daoism played in shaping Japanese culture, Japanese Daoist scholars had primarily focused their studies on China. The lack of Japanese scholarship on this subject no doubt affected Western researchers. Until recently, the number of studies on Daoism in Japan in Western languages remained very small, and many important aspects in this field are largely unexplored.[8]

Part of the reason for this lack of Western scholarship has to do with

the complexity of defining Daoism. Modern Chinese scholars use two terms to define Daoist thought and religion: *Daojia sixiang* (Daoist thought) and *Daojiao* (Daoist religion). The former is typically represented by early Daoist works, namely Laozi's *Dao te jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. The latter is a multifaceted mixture of the religious beliefs and practices that developed after the second century AD. In Western languages, however, the distinction between the two is often blurred by an inclusive term, such as "Daoism" in English. "Daoism" as the combination of the two is hard to distinguish from Chinese culture itself. For one thing, over the course of history many important notions of Daoist teaching have blended with Confucian and Buddhist concepts, and it is often difficult to separate completely Daoist elements from Buddhist or Confucian sources on specific issues. In addition, the popular Daoist beliefs and practices combined in themselves many things that are integral parts of Chinese culture, including beliefs in heaven and God, ancestor worship, aspirations to immortality, divination, the *yin* and *yang* theory, geomancy, astrology, medical thinking, and exorcism. As a result, to what exactly "Daoism" refers has generated a lot of debate.

The difficulty of definition is further complicated when we look at Daoism in Japan, where both Daoist thought and elements of Daoist religion have mixed with indigenous Japanese thought and beliefs, to the extent that most Japanese people have never realized that there is any relationship between Daoism and Japanese culture.[9] Not surprisingly, no consensus has been reached among scholars as to which elements of Daoism were transmitted to Japan and what role Daoism played in Japanese culture.

Despite these difficulties, developing the study of Daoism in Japan has been a vigorous movement among Western scholars in recent years.[10] Recent studies in Western languages, however, have concentrated more on the religious aspects, and the impact of Daoist thought on Japanese literature remains virtually uninvestigated. As the first monograph in a Western language on Daoist influence in Japanese literature, this book examines the *haikai* poets' dynamic reception and reinterpretation of the Daoist classics during the seventeenth century, particularly their adaptation of the *Zhuangzi*. It provides specialists with important information about the Daoist impact on *haikai* poetics, and also attempts to help contemporary readers obtain a fuller understanding of the unique poetic form *haikai* and its great masters.

While scholars disagree about the authorship of the extant text of the *Zhuangzi* and the identity of its author, Zhuangzi (Master Zhuang),

it is generally accepted that the seven "inner chapters" constitute the heart of the work and that the remaining chapters might have been written by different writers at different times. For convenience, in this book "the *Zhuangzi*" refers to the complete thirty-three chapters of the existing text, and "Zhuangzi" to the Daoist thinker or thinkers who created the text. When using "Daoist" to designate the tendencies or traits characterized by Daoist thought in Japanese poetry, this work does not treat the subject matter primarily as a philosophical issue. Rather, it places emphasis on clarifying the processes through which Daoist tenets were turned into poetic principles and affected poetic practices. Moreover, the investigation into such processes is not intended to outline a Daoist tradition in Japanese poetics, but to provide a meaningful frame of reference for the understanding of *haikai*. As mentioned earlier, by the seventeenth century when the *haikai* poets were enthusiastically reading the *Zhuangzi,* it had become rather difficult to distinguish clearly Daoist elements from other thought and belief in both Japan and China. Yet, the significance of *haikai*'s encounter with the *Zhuangzi* cannot be fully revealed without certain delimitation and contextualization. While focusing discussion on the *haikai* poets' advocacy of Daoist ideas, this study does not deny the fact that there are possible Confucian and Buddhist infusions and overlap in the same area.

The intertextual relation between *haikai* and the *Zhuangzi* is a very prominent phenomenon. So prominent that, unlike the general scarcity in the study of Daoist influence on Japanese literature, the allusions to the *Zhuangzi* in *haikai* have received a number of treatments from Japanese scholars since the 1930s.[11] When discussing the peculiar marriage between *haikai* and the *Zhuangzi,* the existing studies note two contributing factors. One is the influence of the commentaries of *Genji monogatari (The Tale of Genji)* in medieval Japan. Kon Eizō notes that in fourteenth-century commentaries of *Genji monogatari* such as the *Kakaishō* (Notes of rivers and seas, ca. 1367), commentators have drawn upon the *gūgen* of the *Zhuangzi* to justify the fictional nature of the tale. He found that the *haikai* poets in the seventeenth century were generally aware of this tradition and cited the *Zhuangzi* in their writings similarly in order to legitimatize the comic linked verse.[12] The other factor contributing to the melding of *haikai* and the *Zhuangzi,* according to Nonomura Katsuhide, is the influence of an interpretive work of the *Zhuangzi* by a thirteenth-century Chinese scholar, Lin Xiyi.[13] Nonomura argues that, unlike the earlier annotation of the *Zhuangzi* by Guo Xiang (d. 312), who stresses that *yuyan* (J. *gūgen*) is a vehicle by which to convey the *Dao,* or universal principle,

Lin highlights the novel and unrestricted writing style of the classic, which aroused great interest among the Danrin poets.[14] Later Japanese scholarship on this subject focuses mostly on Matsuo Bashō and his Shōmon School, whose works mark the apogee of *haikai*. Konishi Jin'ichi and Hirota Jirō trace the Daoist impact on the growth of the Shōmon *haikai* and demonstrate that the Shōmon incorporated Daoist ideas not only in their themes and expressions but also in their *haikai* theories. Both suggest that, through the effort of Bashō and his school, Daoist ideas contributed significantly to the perfection of *haikai*.[15]

Previous Japanese works of scholarship, as mentioned, point to the important place the *Zhuangzi* occupies in the development of *haikai*. They also suggest a helpful frame of reference to contemporary readers, especially Western readers, who have generally considered *haiku* a purely Japanese form, a genre that is intuitive and expressive rather than referential and allusive. Yet, answers to some fundamental questions regarding *haikai*'s encounter with the *Zhuangzi* remain obscure. Why did *haikai* poets need to justify the legitimacy of their poetry? Why did they choose an old Daoist text as a source of authority? What are the inner factors in the development of *haikai* that led to the *haikai* poets' sustained interest in the *Zhuangzi?* And, fundamentally, how did the ancient Daoist text become relevant to poetry and literary principles, and what role did it play in *haikai* poetics?

To answer these questions, this book examines not only the nature of *haikai* but also the literary tradition and historical environment that occasioned *haikai*'s evolution. In addition, it investigates the processes by which Daoist teachings were incorporated into Chinese poetry and how they became part and parcel of the poetic language. It demonstrates that *haikai* poets' encounter with the *Zhuangzi* has as much to do with the nature of *haikai*—its short form, ironic approach, dialogic mode, and vernacular language—as with Japanese poetic tradition, which places extreme importance on classical precedents. Finally, this book provides a close examination of Bashō's poetry in light of its intertextual relationship with the Daoist traits in Chinese poetry. It shows that it was mainly due to Bashō's understanding of the correspondences between the Daoist principles and Chinese poetic tradition that the *Zhuangzi* became a fruitful source for *haikai* creation.

In this book, the three major *haikai* schools' varied interests in the *Zhuangzi* are discussed in five chapters. The first chapter, "Encountering the *Zhuangzi*," looks at the Teimon and Danrin schools and their divergent interests in the *Zhuangzi*. The Teimon became prominent in the

early seventeenth century, after a bleak period of *haikai.* Earlier *haikai* masters, such as Yamazaki Sōkan (d. ca. 1539–1540) and Arakida Moritake (1473–1549), promoted a liberal spirit in bold expressions, but their excessive emphasis on jest and unconstrained expression led to vulgarity, speeding the decline of the genre. A verse by Sōkan, "Even at the time / When my father lay dying / I still kept farting,"[16] for example, became the target of criticism from *renga* masters. When *haikai* regained its popularity along with the rise of the townsmen class, the Teimon poets attempted to elevate the genre's status by refamiliarizing the *haikai* world with classical tradition. Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653), the founder of the Teimon School, formalized *haikai* with rules derived from *renga* regulations. In order to prove the virtue of comic linked verse, the Teimon masters claimed that *haikai* functioned like Zhuangzi's *gūgen* and could convey moral values in jest.

The Teimons' interest in the *Zhuangzi* also had to do with an important formalistic change of *haikai* in this period: the increasing independence of the opening verse and the fragmentation of the links in a sequence brought about an urgent demand to expand the expressive capacity of each link through metaphorical and evocative expressions. This essential demand led Teimon poets to discover the *Zhuangzi* from another perspective, and they found it to be a rich source of metaphors and emblems. Yet, the metaphorical implications the Teimon poets sought had a heavily didactic tone. For example, in *Takaragura* (The treasure house) Yamaoka Genrin (1631–1672), a major poet of the Teimon School, overtly announces that his experimental work of *haibun* (*haikai* prose) emulates Zhuangzi's *gūgen* by revealing beauty and virtue in ordinary household apparatus; the purpose of the work, according to his son, is "to harmonize all things with the Heavenly Equality and by doing so to correct man's mind."[17]

The Danrin School emerged as a reaction to the Teimon's formalism and didacticism. Concerning the identity of *haikai,* which inherited the same form as that of *renga,* Danrin poets publicly parted company with the *renga* tradition and advocated comic poetry for its own sake. For Danrin poets, the unconstrained laughter, rebellious spirit, and imaginative expressions of the *Zhuangzi* provided an authoritative model for *haikai*—humor and wit had their own worth. Danrin poets also used the *Zhuangzi* to define and supply the essence of the *haikai* language *(haigon),* vernacular words and Chinese-origin words that had not been allowable in poetry. Okanishi Ichū (1639–1711), a vocal theoretician of the Danrin School, frequently referred to the *Zhuangzi* in defending the

essence of Danrin *haikai.* He proclaimed that "the *Zhuangzi* embodies the essence *(hon'i)* of *haikai.* Its use of words and its expression are all *haikai.*"[18] The poetic essence that Danrin poets asserted through the authority of the *Zhuangzi* was primarily freedom of expression. In Ichū's words, *haikai* consisted of "wild exaggerations" and "the baldest falsehood."[19] The Teimon and Danrin Schools came to the *Zhuangzi* with distinct needs that arose in different stages of *haikai*'s development. Because both schools interpreted the text from only one perspective, neither of them truly grasped the profundity of the Daoist classic and the aesthetic principles operating in its literary style. Nonetheless, their promotion of the *Zhuangzi* widened the imaginative world of *haikai* and inspired later poets.

Chapter 2, "From Falsehood to Sincerity," examines an important period of transition in *haikai* history when the Shōmon School arose. From the end of the 1670s to the 1680s, following the widespread reprinting of books on Chinese poetry and poetics, a "Chinese style" prevailed in *haikai* circles, reflecting both a discontent with the mannerisms of early *haikai* and a determination to make *haikai* an art form comparable to the best of Chinese poetry. Matsuo Bashō, who studied *haikai* with both Teimon and Danrin masters, launched the Shōmon School during this period and eventually led his disciples to discover the rich poetic possibilities suggested by the *Zhuangzi.* From the beginning, Shōmon poets frequently drew upon Daoist tenets such as *ziran* (J. *shizen* or *j'inen,* the Natural)[20] and *xiaoyaoyou* (J. *shōyōyū,* carefree wandering) in their works. Earlier studies on *haikai*'s adaptation of the *Zhuangzi* in this period tend to focus on the philosophical connotations of the Daoist concepts, with special attention to the influence of these concepts in Bashō's life. This kind of approach is necessary to the understanding of Bashō's aesthetic experience. However, one consequence has been that certain thematic emphases of the new school are interpreted as direct manifestations of the Daoist tenets, and the poetic explorations of its founder are considered an individual preference for Daoist ideals rather than a result of a larger trend in the development of *haikai.* As revealed in the second chapter of the present study, the Shōmon School's interest in the *Zhuangzi* was an extension of a larger movement of *haikai* that strived for truthfulness and profundity, as opposed to artificiality and vulgar laughter. From this perspective, the chapter compares the Shōmon School's use of the *Zhuangzi* not only with those of the preceding schools but also with the approaches of contemporary *haikai* poets, including Ikenishi Gonsui (1650–1722), Shiinomoto Saimaro (1656–1738), and Uejima Onitsura (1661–1738). It shows that

during this important transition period the *Zhuangzi* became, explicitly or implicitly, the theoretical underpinning of various *haikai* schools and poets who struggled to make comic linked verse a profound poetry.

Chapter 3, "Bashō's *Fūkyō* and the Spirit of *Shōyōyū*," examines the Daoist impact on the themes of the Shōmon *haikai,* particularly the *fūkyō* (poetic eccentricity) aesthetic emphasized by Bashō. The thematic focuses of the school from the 1680s, such as *fūkyō* and *shōyōyū,* demonstrate conspicuous affinity to the Daoist traits in Chinese poetry. These thematic emphases permeate not only the Shōmons' poems and *haikai* sequences, but also a variety of their *haibun* (prose written with the spirit and stylistic features of *haikai*), elevating the dialogic context of *haikai* from its previous focus on material culture to a profound poetic world, one valuing simplicity, nonconformity, and physical and mental freedom in the embrace of nature. This thematic tendency is particularly explicit in Bashō's *haikai kikōbun* (*haikai* travel journal), a genre that combines the best verses and prose by the master.

Landscape is an essential component of *haikai* imagination. The importance of landscape in the creation of *haikai* can be seen clearly in the pivotal significance of famous places *(meisho)* in *haikai* verses and the great emphasis on geographical imagination in *haikai* prose. Comparative examinations of his *kikōbun* show that Bashō's geographical imagination was shaped not only by the material qualities of landscape, but even more by conceptions that were molded through broader cultural, aesthetical, and epistemological frameworks, among which the *Zhuangzi* was an essential text.

The Japanese travel journal as a literary genre developed a close relationship with poetry. From the earliest extant travel journal, *Tosa nikki* (ca. 935), Japanese literary travel journals followed a tradition of combining poems and prose in sequential order. The fusion with poetry both enriched and limited the representation of the landscape of the *kikōbun,* since by centering on poems the geographical imagination of the travel journal was inevitably defined by classical poetic diction and poetic toponym. When Bashō aspired to develop a new type of travel journal in *haikai* style, he met a challenge that had faced *haikai* when it reflourished in the early seventeenth century: the classically defined landscape had to be redefined and re-presented through a popular *haikai* vision and by using vernacular *haikai* language. In order to reinvent the significance of imagined landscape, Bashō referred widely to Daoist classics and Chinese poetry. As we shall see in the third chapter, Bashō's self-portrayal of a hut dweller and perpetual traveler was directly inspired by the *shōyōyū* spirit.

Using the *Zhuangzi* as a foundation, Bashō reconstructed the intertextual structure of *haikai* expression, simultaneously injecting unconventional significance into the classical poetic toponyms and investing the mundane *haikai* words and images with profound meaning.

In discussing Bashō's reading of the Daoist classic, Lin Xiyi's *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* (Juanzhai's vernacular explanations of the *Zhuangzi*) is used in this book as a primary source, and both the third and fourth chapters pay close attention to the critical and aesthetic tradition reflected in Lin Xiyi's explanations, especially his association between the recluse tradition and Daoist teachings. The Shōmon used a staggering body of Chinese sources, but their allusions and citations notably leaned toward the recluse taste. As Chapter 3 suggests, this inclination owes much to the influence of Lin Xiyi's annotation to the *Zhuangzi,* as well as to popular Chinese poetic anthologies and handbooks. In examining the textual influence of Lin's work on Bashō, previous studies have noted its philosophical synthesis of Daoism and the Song Confucian learning *(Sōgaku).* Yet another important feature of the text has contributed more directly to the Shōmon School's enduring interest in the *Zhuangzi:* Lin Xiyi consciously or unconsciously employs the terms and notions of contemporary literary criticism in his interpretation and often refers to celebrated poets and verses to explain Daoist concepts. In his preface to *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi,* Lin uses the literary achievement of the great Song poet Su Shi (1037–1101)—one of the Chinese poets Bashō admired most—to illustrate the importance of reading the *Zhuangzi.* He writes: "This is the book one must read and it also is the most difficult book to read. The lifetime works of Su Shi are all based on the understanding of this book."[21] Statements such as this no doubt have contributed to Bashō's belief in the *Zhuangzi* as required reading for poetry. Particularly noteworthy is that Lin Xiyi cites famous Chinese poets who are not typically reclusive, such as the great Tang poet Du Fu (712–770), to exemplify the Daoist spirit of carefree wandering, leaving an impression that the Daoist traits embodied in the recluse tradition reflect the essence of Chinese poetry.

Together with Lin Xiyi's explanations, many Chinese poetic anthologies and handbooks popular during Bashō's time, such as *Shiren yu xie* (Gemlike words of poets), *Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu* (Practical knacks and workable methods: An encyclopedia of poetics), and *San ti shi* (Poems of three forms), also provided Bashō with collective information about poetic diction, images, themes, and criteria that were infused with Daoist values. In *Shiren yu xie,* a collection of excerpts from the critical treatises of the Song dynasty, the deliberate eccentricity of the Seven Worthies of

the Bamboo Grove and the aesthete-recluse image of Tao Qian (365–427) are praised and highlighted as essential poetic language and personality. These works provided Bashō and his followers, not only with a general impression of Daoist traits in Chinese poetry, but also with congenial materials for composing poems. As a result, the Shōmon School enthusiastically identified itself with the *shōyōyū* tradition and adopted its language to enrich the *haikai* vocabulary.

Expanding from the thematic comparison of the third chapter, Chapter 4 offers a diachronic examination of the connection between Bashō's *fūryū*[22] and the Daoist traits in Chinese poetry. As argued throughout this book, the literary significance of the *Zhuangzi* in *haikai* could not be fully grasped without recognizing the conceptualization of Daoist principles in Chinese poetics and the embodiment of Daoist spirit in Chinese poetry. In fact, it was through the long history of Chinese literature that Daoist principles gradually took on the literary values that interested Bashō and his fellow poets. Unlike the orthodox Confucian classics that treat literature as an important vehicle for carrying ethical codes, early Daoist texts criticize traditional modes of learning, including literary writings, as fraudulent institutions that help promote absurd desires and hypocrisy. Therefore, in early Daoist texts, such as the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi,* little interest is shown in literature. Nevertheless, these Daoist classics influenced the Chinese artistic sensibility profoundly, for the basic assumptions of the philosophy related not only to human life in general but also to human perception and expression in particular. The Daoist thinkers' expositions on the relationships between outer form and inner state, between language and ideas, and between creativity and spontaneity played an important part in shaping the Chinese perspective on poetry.

Daoist principles were first applied in literary discussion by Wang Chong (27 CE–ca. 97 CE) of the Eastern Han period (25 CE–220 CE), but it was through the Wei-Jin period (220–420) that Daoist tenets became widely embodied in literary works. The basic principles of Daoist philosophy, namely, *xiaoyaoyou* and *ziran wuwei* (J. *shizen mui,* naturalness and inaction or noninterference), met the spiritual and intellectual demands of Chinese literati in a period of political disorder and societal instability. The authority of orthodox Confucianism was weakened, and there arose a strong tendency to "transcend the Confucian ethical codes and follow the Natural *(ziran)*."[23] This ethos had a significant impact on the themes, images, and tone of the Wei-Jin literature. The Daoist thinkers' keen awareness of the universe's changing nature was reflected in the promi-

nent sense of impermanence in their writings. Their emphasis on naturalness and spontaneity as the fundamental principles of the universe provided a theoretical base for the growth of a poetic tradition that prioritized naturalness as a poetic principle. The free spirit and love of nature emphasized by the Daoist texts came to influence poetic practice, forming a recluse-literatus tradition that critics termed *fengliu* (J. *fūryū*). This influence is especially notable in the unconventionality and deliberate eccentricity of the famous Zhulin qi xian (Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove) and later in the writings of recluse poets such as Tao Qian.

During the same period, Daoist ideas and reasoning began to be conceptualized in literary criticism. From the Wei-Jin period onward, the reflection of Daoist taste in poetic practice and the conventionalization of Daoist concepts in poetics developed contemporaneously. Chinese *shi* poetry reached its peak in the Tang dynasty (618–907). The Tang also was the period in which Daoist teachings and religion gained official recognition and spread throughout China. The poetry of the High Tang further popularized and conventionalized Daoist ideas and themes. By the time of the Song dynasty (960–1279), many Daoist concepts were adapted into poetic criteria and became the intrinsic part of the poetic language. This kind of language and criteria filled the poetic anthologies and handbooks of the period and found their way into Song scholars' annotations of Daoist classics, such as Lin Xiyi's *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi*. It was mainly through these sources that Bashō obtained his knowledge of the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* as well as of Chinese poetry. Evidence shows that Bashō's understanding of the *Zhuangzi* and his reading of Chinese poetry are closely related. It was the conscious association of the Chinese poetic tradition and Daoist principles that distinguished Bashō's reading of the *Zhuangzi* from that of his predecessors. Chapter 4 demonstrates that Bashō's concept of *fūryū* shows salient affinity with the meaning of *fengliu* asserted by the *shōyōyū* tradition. The latter was an aesthetic stance originating from the *Zhuangzi* and figured in the practices of Chinese poets from the Wei-Jin period. The examination of Bashō's *fūryū* locates his use of the *Zhuangzi* in a broader literary context: by returning to the *shōyōyū* tradition and joining the great recluse poets of ancient China, Bashō attempted to reclaim a sphere of profundity and elegance through the popular poetic genre *haikai,* a world distinct from that of classical *waka* and *renga*.

Using Daoist principles embodied in Chinese poetic tradition as a frame of reference, Chapter 5, "Following *Zōka* and Returning to *Zōka,*" examines the Daoist impact on Bashō's *haikai* theories. Along with the de-

velopment of Shōmon *haikai,* the *shōyōyū* tradition, which had a remarkable impact on the thematic interests of the Shōmon in the 1680s, was given new theoretical significance; on that basis, Bashō put forth his poetic principle to "follow *zōka* (C. *zaohua,* the creative) and return to *zōka.*" A notion originating in the *Zhuangzi* and used widely in Chinese philosophical and literary writings, *zōka* implies the workings of the *Dao* in the natural creation and transformation of all things and beings. Applied to artistic creation, it refers primarily to naturalness and spontaneity. Tracing the application of a cluster of Daoist terms, such as *zōka, shizen/j'inen, tenkō* (heaven's work), *tenrai* (the piping of heaven), *kyo* (emptiness), and *ki* (the primal breath), back to Chinese critical tradition, this chapter examines how Bashō adapted these notions, particularly the principles regarding the operation of the poetic mind and the criteria of poetic quality, in forming his compositional theories. In both areas, Bashō emphasizes the importance of following *zōka* to poetic creativity. In his famous *haibun, Oi no kobumi* (Essays in my pannier, 1687), Bashō declares that *zōka* is the single most important principle that runs through all arts. This declaration—one of the rare theoretical statements the master left in his own writings—reveals the fundamental principle of his later years.

Although Bashō left no elaborate theoretical works on poetry, many of his ideas on *haikai* composition, such as *kōgo kizoku* (awakening to the lofty and returning to the common), *butsuga ichinyo* (object and self as one),[24] *fueki ryūkō* (the unchanging and the fluid), were summarized and recorded in his disciples' notes. As indicated by the dichotomous aspects of these concepts, Bashō attempted to solve the fundamental contradictions of *haikai*—the paradoxes between sublimation and popularization, between extemporaneous individual verse and rigidly regulated collaborative sequence, and between the dependence on classical tradition and the pressing need for newness—with a dualistic poetics. As we shall see in my fifth chapter, among a wide spectrum of sources he absorbed in his practical poetics, Daoist principles functioned as a cornerstone of Bashō's *haikai* theory. By drawing upon the Daoist ideas, he greatly reduced the formalistic limitations inherited by *haikai* and widened its latitude for spontaneity. As a result, the adaptation of the *Zhuangzi* did not obliterate the originality of Bashō and his followers. Rather, it assisted them in their extraordinary effort to transform *haikai,* which hitherto had been regarded as a frivolous pastime, into a lasting art form.

Chapter 1

Encountering the *Zhuangzi*

Haikai, a Japanese poetic form that is roughly translated as comic linked verse, evolved from *renga,* or classical linked verse, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From *renga* to *haikai no renga* (or *haikai*), and then to the independence of the opening verse of *haikai, hokku,* or *haiku*, as it is known today, Japanese linked verse experienced dramatic changes in its form and nature: a full-length, aristocratic parlor art became an extremely condensed, popular poem with internalized irony as its core. *Haikai* creation reached its apogee in the latter half of the seventeenth century. During this period, three successive *haikai* schools—the Teimon, the Danrin, and the Shōmon—shared a conspicuous interest in Daoist works, especially the *Zhuangzi.* While presenting different interpretations of the Daoist classic, their interests in the Daoist text were similarly motivated: all used the *Zhuangzi* as a source of inspiration to develop their *haikai* style and theories. The *haikai* poets' encounter with the *Zhuangzi* presented a fascinating case of the adaptation of Daoist thought in Japan. Through a dynamic process of reading and reinterpretation of the *Zhuangzi,* the *haikai* poets borrowed the foreign and the old to reinvent the indigenous and the new, transforming *haikai* from an entertaining pastime to a poetic form that was at once uniquely Japanese and universal.

The Teimon, the Mission of Poetry, and the *Zhuangzi*

The origin of *haikai* traditionally has been traced to the witty and humorous poems *(haikaika)* in the first imperial poetic anthology, *Kokin waka shū* (Anthology of Japanese poems: Ancient and present, ca. 905), but modern scholars generally see *haikai* as a genre evolved from *renga*

during the fifteenth century. *Renga* emerged in the Heian period as an entertaining poetic game in which the participants competed with each other in wit and humor by adding their own verse to the preceding ones, making short linked verses *(tanrenga)* of alternate seventeen- and fourteen-syllable lines. *Renga* poets gradually polished the rules guiding *renga* composition and turned it into an elegant art form that was extendible to 36 *(kasen),* 44 *(yoyoshi),* 50 *(gojūin),* 100 *(hyakuin),* 1,000 *(senku),* even 10,000 *(manku)* links. The longer forms of *renga (chōrenga)* became popular at gatherings of aristocrats, elite samurai, and priests in medieval Japan as a parlor game. In order to elevate the status of *renga,* the serious *renga (ushin no renga)* masters denied its original entertaining purpose and humorous nature. Although entertainment has always been an essential aspect of Japanese poetry, in theory poetry has been defined as an art "that moves heaven and earth without effort, stirs emotions in the invisible spirits and gods, brings harmony to the relations between men and women, and calms the hearts of fierce warriors"[1] since the time of the *Kokinshū* prefaces. Apparently, comic verse was thought to lack the qualities necessary for this sacred mission, and *haikai* was often excluded from the classical repertoire of poetry. Even though the first *renga* collection, *Tsukuba shū* (The Tsukuba anthology, 1356), does have a section of *haikai*-style *renga,* the next major *renga* collection, compiled when the linked verse form had matured, *Shinsen tsukuba shū* (New Tsukuba anthology, 1495), contains no *haikai* verses at all. Subsequently, *haikai no renga* has always been excluded from *renga* anthologies. The insistence on the sacred mission of poetry and the exclusion of *haikai* from the mainstream of Japanese poetry had a notable impact on the later development of *haikai* and, as we shall see in the following pages, contributed directly to *haikai*'s encounter with the *Zhuangzi.*

When comic linked verse became popular in the turbulent early sixteenth century, *haikai* practitioners tried to make this amusing variation of *renga* an independent genre by casting off the yoke of the *renga* rules and restoring the unrestrained laughter. Yamazaki Sōkan, a major contributor to the earliest *haikai* anthology, *Inu Tsukuba shū* (Dog Tsukuba anthology, ca. 1539), deliberately shattered the decorum of classical poetry with bold, earthy expressions. A pair of *haikai* verses often cited to illustrate the nature of the early *haikai* is found in the first page of *Inu Tsukuba shū.*

A gown of mist
with its hem wet.
kasumi no koromo/suso wa nurekeri

The Sao Goddess
at the arrival of spring
stands when pissing.
Saohime no/haru tachinagara/shito o shite[2]

The second verse, which was composed by Sōkan, sparked a controversy among the critics. In classical Japanese poetry, the spring goddess Sao is typically portrayed as standing amid the spring mist, which looks like a beautiful gown. The *haikai* version of the subject, however, gives the classical depiction a comic twist by associating the vernacular phrase *"shito o shite"* (pissing) with *"tachinagara"* (standing). "Stands when pissing" turns the elegant classic diction "Sao Goddess" into a vulgar image. Thus, the verb *"tatsu,"* which means both to "start" and to "stand," humorously pivots two culturally and sociolinguistically different worlds.

Sōkan's verse is representative of the *haikai* spirit in its early stage, and this distinctive approach to language and poetry sets *haikai* apart from *renga*. However, because the appeal of early *haikai* lay solely in its boldness and humor, even to the point of being crude and frivolous, these verses did not possess lasting literary value. Arakida Moritake, a contemporary of Sōkan, attempted to pull *haikai* closer to the classical tradition by promoting a style of gentle humor. Yet, the vulgar witticism as seen in Sōkan's verse predominated and *haikai* did not reach its finest flourishing until the seventeenth century, when Japan underwent rapid social changes and economic development.

The continuing peace after the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1600 nurtured prosperity in urban areas. Artisans and merchants, who were collectively called *chōnin* (townsmen) and who had been relegated to the bottom of the social hierarchies, benefited most significantly from the economic growth of the age. The townsmen's increasing economic power gave rise to a new body of popular literature, of which *haikai, kabuki* theater, and prose fiction became the mainstays. This new body of popular literature, while drawing heavily upon aristocratic cultural tradition, distinctively reflected the lives and tastes of the commoners. At the same time, the spread of printing and mass education also contributed to the flourishing of the popular literature. Literary texts, which had been monopolized by a small group of elite aristocrats, priests, and high-ranking samurai, became available to commoners for the first time. By the middle of the seventeenth century, well-off peasants and townsmen, as well as lower-ranking samurai, had not only become literate, but also were able to take lessons in popular art forms or on classical texts. The newly rising

commoner class, as has often been pointed out, became the major carrier of the new culture, and the commoners' participation in literary production and consumption promoted the *haikai* renaissance.

In addition to the congenial social and economic climate of the seventeenth century, the revival of *haikai* owed much to the efforts of Matsunaga Teitoku and his followers to formalize the coarse comic linked verse. Teitoku was a well-educated scholar, an accomplished *waka* and *renga* poet, and a close friend of Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), the Confucian adviser to Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). Teitoku played a double role in the development of *haikai,* and as Donald Keene points out, "though a conservative, he became the acclaimed leader of the newest and most controversial movement in poetry."[3]

Teitoku was born into a distinguished family. His grandfather was the *daimyō* of Takatsuki, an important castle town near Kyoto and Osaka, and his father was a professional *renga* poet. His excellent family connections enabled him to receive instruction from the best scholars and to associate with the important literary figures of the time. He had the privilege of studying *waka* with the courtier Kujō Tanemichi (1505–1594), who was respected as the repository of the orthodox poetic traditions, and with Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610), a famous military commander and *waka* poet. From Tanemichi, Teitoku received not only instruction in poetry but also the transmission of the secret teaching of *The Tale of Genji,* which traditionally had been transmitted only to select members of the aristocracy. However, Teitoku never had the chance to receive the *Secret Transmission of Kokinshū (Kokin denju),* a foundational text for teaching the classic poetic anthology, *Kokin waka shū,* from Yūsai. Although the court nobles had lost many other forms of authority by the beginning of the Tokugawa regime, the transmission of the art of *Kokinshū* was still the exclusive privilege of the nobility. Beside *waka,* Teitoku also had a chance to study *renga* with Satomura Jōha (1524–1602), the leading *renga* poet of the day. Nonetheless, he seems to have considered the classical *waka* a higher art than *renga.*[4]

Teitoku's unique experience with *waka*—being trained under the best masters of the poetry but unable to share fully the orthodox court tradition—gave rise to a contradiction. On one hand, Teitoku was a teacher of enlightenment who took the unprecedented step of lecturing publicly on the secrets of classical literature that he had learned privately. On the other hand, he took a conservative position in restricting poetic composition, particularly that of *haikai,* to conventional rules.

Haikai and *renga* share the same formalistic characteristics, as

Teitoku writes in the preface to *Haikai gosan* (The superior umbrella of *haikai,* 1651), one of his most important works on *haikai* composition:

> At the beginning, there was no distinction between *haikai* and *renga.* Later, linked verses that used purely elegant language were called *renga* while those that included *haikai* words were called *haikai.*... This handbook is modeled upon the codes of *Ōan shinshiki.* The only difference is that it permits a word that, according to the Ōan codes, can only be used once in a session to appear twice, or a word that should appear in the seventh verse to appear in the fifth. I have not put forward any new ideas of my own.[5]

Ōan shinshiki (New codes of Ōan), also called *Renga shinshiki* (New codes of *renga*), was compiled by the celebrated *renga* master Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388) in 1372. In order to raise *haikai* to the level of classical poetry, Teitoku prescribed codes and rules similar to that of classical *renga.* The main distinction he made between *haikai* and classical *renga* was the use of *haikai* words *(haigon),* which he restricted to words of Chinese origin and acceptable vernacular words. Teitoku's attempt to formalize *haikai* by strict rules was often accused of destroying the free spirit and style of comic linked verse. Nonetheless, his efforts to tame *haikai* by means of formal regulation and his definition of *haigon* helped to satisfy the growing demand for a popularly accessible yet artistic verse form, and in this way Teitoku saved *haikai* from degenerating further from its early coarse humor.

As leader of the Teimon School, Teitoku wrote little about the connection between *haikai* and Daoist thought, but he was familiar with the *Zhuangzi* and held a favorable view of it. Teitoku often used a literary name, Shōyūken (Carefree wandering study), which undoubtedly came from the term *"xiaoyaoyou"* (J. *shōyōyū,* carefree wandering) in the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi.* In the writing of Teitoku's disciple Kitamura Kigin (1624–1705), Teitoku is referred to as the "Old Gentleman of *Shōyōyū*": "In a time now past, there was an Old Gentleman of *Shōyōyū.*... He enjoyed carefree wandering at the island of humor and wit, and eventually became the guardian of the island."[6] If we trust this literary description, Teitoku had been fond of the *Zhuangzi* even before he became the leader of the Teimon School, and his dedication to *haikai* had much to do with his admiration for the spirit of *shōyōyū.* But, since no other supporting evidence for this can be found, the above description might reflect a general knowledge of Daoist ideas among *haikai* poets at the time. In fact, the penetration of Daoist ideas into themes and

images of *haikai* is clearly seen in the Teimon poetry. The first *haikai* lexicon on seasonal words and motives, *Yama no i* (Mountain spring, 1647), contains the following explanations under the entry "Butterfly": "Butterfly. The scene of a butterfly alighting on rape blossoms, napping among the flowers with no worries. Its appearance as it flutters its feathery wings, dancing like whirling snowflakes. Also, the image is associated with Zhuang Zhou's dream, suggesting that one hundred years pass as a gleam in a butterfly's dream."[7] The *haikai* lexicon provides short explanations of poetic motifs and lists lexical associations, defining not only the essence *(hon'i)* of the images but also the fixed depictions and implications. In the quotation, both the fundamental meaning and the poetic associations of "butterfly" are based on a well-known *gūgen*[8] in the *Zhuangzi,* in which Zhuang Zhou (Zhuangzi) dreamt that he was a butterfly: "Once Zhuang Zhou dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He didn't know he was Zhuang Zhou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Zhuang Zhou. But he didn't know if he was Zhuang Zhou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuang Zhou."[9] Clearly, the butterfly image defined by *Yama no i* is infused with the implications seen in the *Zhuangzi.* To demonstrate the use of the image, Kigin, the compiler, gives some example verses. One of them reads:

> Scattering blossoms:
> the dream of a butterfly—
> one hundred years in a gleam.
> *chiru hana ya/kochō no yume/hyakunenme*[10]

The combination of the images—butterfly, dream, and a hundred years—only makes clear sense when the reader knows the *gūgen* of the *Zhuangzi* and the fixed association of butterfly and dream. Kigin, however, gives no further explanation about the intertextual source. His definition of the butterfly image demonstrates that the Daoist concept among *haikai* poets was so popular that an explanation of the association was not necessary.[11]

Examples like this one may not indicate more than a basic knowledge of the well-known concepts of Chinese classics. However, other evidence shows that the Teimon poets had begun to read the *Zhuangzi* in conjunction with rethinking the nature and purpose of *haikai* even before the Danrin poets enthusiastically sought the essence of *haikai* in the *Zhuangzi.* In

1671, Yamaoka Genrin, who studied *haikai* and traditional poetics with Kigin, published *Takaragura* (The treasure house),[12] a collection of prose and poetry that frequently drew upon Chinese and Japanese classics, including the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi.* The collection consists of seventy-two short prose pieces on household implements; each prose concludes with a *kanshi* (poem written in Chinese composed by Japanese) and a *hokku* verse that has either the moon *(tsuki)* or cherry blossoms *(hana)*—two classical symbols of beauty in Japanese poetry—as the central image. A selection of *hokku* by Kigin and other poets is appended at the end of the book. One of the pieces in the collection is titled "Desk":

> A desk has two functions. One is for practicing writing, the other is for learning. Both are truly useful skills, unlike superfluous skills such as singing. Singing is hard to learn but easy to forget. Even if you have learned nine-tenths of it, you still cannot make use of the skill until you have fully mastered it. But if you learn a character, you have the virtue of that character. If you learn the *iroha* syllabary, you can use the *iroha.* If you learn how to read the *Imagawa,* you will have the virtue of that.[13] Needless to say, this is the way that leads to sages' works. Also, a desk is used to make offerings to Buddha and the gods, which purifies one's muddled mind. It is said that Ziqi of the South Wall always sat leaning on his desk, and he said: "I've forgotten myself. The man who is leaning on the desk now is not the one who leaned on it before." I wonder who understands his world?
>
> Hiding in a lonely, wretched cottage unknown by the world when, unexpectedly, an elegant *haikai* sequence is sent over from a remote province or village for my comments, how could I not be filled with joy, though I am very embarrassed about my clumsy writing skill.
>
> Inquiry about poem—
> the companion of the moon
> from a distant land.
> *ku o kiku mo/ko ya enpō no/tsuki no tomo*
>
> Morning and night, a ten-square-foot cottage
>   filled with peace,
> Cherry blossoms by the window, pear flowers in the yard,
>   fragrance as companion.
> Even a gold house cannot match the value
>   of a scholar's desk,
> A thousand sages and ten-thousand worthies
>   want you everyday.[14]

Takaragura is a pioneering work of *haibun* (*haikai* prose), a genre that reached its finest quality later in Matsuo Bashō's writings. *Haibun* usually

is written for an audience that shares the aesthetic taste and literary knowledge of the author. The unexpected leaps of thought, the use of allusion, and the combination of prose and poetry—features that set *haibun* apart from ordinary narratives—are meant to be appreciated by connoisseurs. As shown by the quoted piece, *Takaragura* is highly metaphorical and allegorical. On the surface, the author is praising the value of a desk, but what he really is glorifying is the virtue of learning and scholars. The *haibun* makes an allusion to the following paragraph of the *Zhuangzi*.

> Ziqi of South Wall sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing—vacant and far away, as though he'd lost his companion.[15] Yancheng Ziyou, who was standing by his side in attendance, said: "What is this? Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes? The man leaning on the armrest now is not the one who leaned on it before!"
>
> Ziqi said: "You do well to ask the question, Yancheng. Now I have lost myself. Do you understand that?…"[16]

This passage, which appears at the beginning of the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* is frequently cited by *haikai* poets of different schools. According to the Song annotator Lin Xiyi,[17] Ziqi is a Daoist sage who, when leaning on his armrest, has completely eliminated the subjective self and has become one with the universe. In this mental state, "the man leaning on the armrest now is not the one who leaned on it before."[18] Although Genrin does not cite the original text verbatim, he has grasped the key words in the allusion. How Genrin interprets these words is not clear. Evidently, the philosophical basis of his *haibun* is not exclusively Daoist, as the Confucian emphasis on learning and spiritual pursuit through worship are both described as virtues of "desk." However, the intention of this *haibun,* according to Genrin's son, is to imitate the *gūgen* of the *Zhuangzi,*[19] and it is explicit that Genrin's *haibun* celebrates the recluse tradition, and he associates this tradition with the Daoist spirit. In the *hokku* verse and the *kanshi* attached to the prose, Genrin uses the moon and the cherry blossom—both classical symbols of beauty and elegance—to glorify the "desk," or the life of the recluse-scholar. The celebration of the recluse taste, as we shall see in later chapters, was greatly elaborated by the Shōmon poets and became a significant thematic focus of their *haikai.* It is noteworthy that Genrin, one of the first writers to introduce this theme into *haikai,* sees the beauty of the humble life from a Daoist perspective. The preface to *Takaragura* says:

> Gold has noble status, but if it gets into one's eyes, even if only a tiny scrap, it will turn one's whole world into darkness. On the other hand, things like toothbrush and earpick can be treasures when they satisfy one's needs. My writing in the following pages began with these thoughts. People who tossed the gourd on the shore and who threw thousands of jewels into the sea have different preferences for treasures.
>
> When we think of it, nothing is very easy, even a household tool we use in the morning has to be put away in the evening. However, if we trust all to the endless power of *zōka*—
>
> Heaven and earth themselves
> are the treasure house
> of *tsuki* and *hana.*
> *Ametsuchi ya/kore tsuki hana no/takaragura*[20]

Tsuki (the moon) and *hana* (cherry blossoms), as mentioned earlier, are classical metaphors for beauty in Japanese poetry. The meaning of this preface, which is peculiar at first glance, becomes clearer when considered in the context of *haikai* at the time: struggling to emerge from the shadow of classical *waka* and *renga, haikai* faced a difficult dilemma between maintaining its identity and raising its status.

Haikai inherited the formalistic features of *renga.* It also followed most of the *renga* rules regarding the association and progression of a sequence. However, while taking the very same form as *renga, haikai* differed from classical *renga* in its comic approach and vernacular language. As Teitoku declared, the use of *haigon,* or *haikai* language, was the hallmark of *haikai.* This emphasis on nonclassical language reflected the interest of the rising commoner class, which had been deprived the right of literacy in the past. Through the *haikai* language, commoners now could take pleasure in laughing at the upper class and the authorities, parodying the aristocratic classics, and mocking social conventions. The creation of *haigon,* however, also mirrored a poetic tradition that had confined poetry to content and diction based primarily on aristocratic life.

Haigon is a term created in opposition to *kago,* or classical poetic diction, conventionalized by the first eight imperially commissioned poetic anthologies. Both *waka* and *renga* employed only this unitary language, and the classical poets consciously limited their verses to the elegant topics occurring in the eight classical anthologies *(hachidaishū),* particularly love and the four seasons. Except for some folksong genres in the medieval period, *haikai* was the first major poetic form in Japanese history that challenged the constraint of classical poetic diction. In

fact, as Haruo Shirane points out, challenging, parodying, and recontextualizing the classical tradition became the very nature of *haikai* when it began to flourish at the end of the medieval age.[21] Sōkan's verse on the Sao Goddess is one example. However, popularity and amusement alone are not enough to make *haikai* a legitimate poetic form. In Japanese poetic tradition poetry must convey something sacred and profound.

Thus, on one hand, *haikai* needs to maintain its autonomy from *renga* by keeping its distinctively popular themes and language. On the other hand, it needs to justify its legitimacy by showing that *haikai,* though popular poetry, can accomplish the sacred mission defined by the canonical tradition. Genrin, aware of the difficulty of the task, attempts to impart profound meaning into *haikai* literature by drawing upon Daoist ideas. He starts his preface by negating conventional values such as "noble" and "treasure." The phrase "People who tossed the gourd on the shore" refers to the legendary Chinese recluse Xu You, who lived a simple life in solitude and liked to use a vessel made of gourd. Through this reference to the famous Chinese recluse, Genrin attempts to reveal treasure in ordinary things and humble life. As the preface indicates, the objects *Takaragura* treats are not of "noble status"; in other words, they are not part of the repository of classical poetry, but things that are found in the common household, things that belong to the world of *haikai.* In order to transform these ordinary household items into poetic topics and images, Genrin borrows an important notion, *zōka,* from the *Zhuangzi.* "If we trust all to the endless power of *zōka,*" he says, "[h]eaven and earth themselves/are the treasure house/of *tsuki* (the moon) and *hana* (cherry blossoms)."

Zōka (C. *zaohua*) is written in two Chinese characters whose literal meaning is "create and transform." The original Chinese term for *zōka, "zaohua,"* is widely used in different Chinese texts, but the postscript to *Takaragura* shows that Genrin most likely learned the term from the *Zhuangzi. Zōka* as a key notion in Daoist thought first refers to the natural way in which all phenomena come into being and transform. In other words, it is the working of the Way or *Dao.* Second, it suggests that the existence of all things and beings is the direct result of the workings of the *Dao,* and therefore each thing/being spontaneously embodies the *Dao.* Finally, to follow the natural way of things and beings is at the same time to follow the *Dao.* From this Daoist notion, Genrin derives a theoretical basis for the *haikai* expressions: elegance and beauty, which have been symbolized by the moon and cherry blossoms since classical *waka* in Japanese poetry, can be found in the natural state of all things and beings, including the most common household items.

The idea of following *zōka* in *haikai* creation was later reiterated by the leader of the Shōmon School and became a fundamental principle in his *haikai* theories. To Genrin and the Teimon poets, who were trying hard to have *haikai* accepted as part of the orthodox tradition, the Daoist concept provided a congenial argument for the virtue of comic poetry: *haikai,* after all, was a suitable form to reveal the truth and to purify man's mind. In his postscript to *Takaragura,* Genrin's son Genjo writes: "Recently, [my father] wrote essays on such things as writing brush and ink, clogs and sandals. He entitled the collection *The Treasure House.* Although it is mainly an imitation of *gūgen* and *shigen* [of the *Zhuangzi*], the work is intended to harmonize all things with the Heavenly Equality and, by so doing, to redress man's mind."[22] *Gūgen, shigen,*[23] and the phrase "harmonize all things with the Heavenly Equality" are all from the twenty-seventh chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* "Yuyan" (J. Gūgen). The chapter describes the characteristics of Zhuangzi's writing in terms of three styles: "imputed words (C. *yuyan;* J. *gūgen*) make up nine-tenths of it; repeated words (C. *zhongyan* or *chongyan;* J. *jūgen*) make up seven-tenths of it; goblet words (C. *zhiyan;* J. *shigen*) come forth day after day, harmonizing things with the Heavenly Equality."[24] According to the explanation of a similar expression in the *Zhuangzi,* "harmonizing things with the Heavenly Equality" refers to a state completely free of any conventional restrictions and harmonious with all things in their natural ways:

> What do I mean by harmonizing them [things] with the Heavenly Equality? Right is not right; so is not so. If right were really right, it would differ so clearly from not right that there would be no need for argument. If so were really so, it would differ so clearly from not so that there would be no need for argument. Waiting for one shifting voice (to pass judgment on) another is the same as waiting for none of them. Harmonize them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years. Forget the years; forget distinctions. Leap into the boundless and make it your home.[25]

As can be seen from the implications of his quotation from the *Zhuangzi,* Genrin demonstrates a much deeper understanding of the Daoist classic as compared with other Teimon poets. He touches on the important point that although Zhuangzi's *gūgen* is a literary device to convey truth, it does not necessarily transmit moral lessons, but instead advocates a unique way of thinking, a way that the *Zhuangzi* characterizes as harmonizing with the natural way of all things/beings. Yet, by imitating the *Zhuangzi,* Genrin intends to "redress man's mind," and his view of *haikai* is still not far from the orthodox concept of poetry.

The didactic interpretation of Zhuangzi's *gūgen* is expressed more clearly in Kigin's writing. When asked how to judge the merits of Teitoku's verses on the theme of love *(koi no ku),* which contain obvious erotic elements, Kigin answered:

> A verse composed by a person whose heart is occupied entirely by sexual desire and a verse by a person who understands that the essence of *haikai* is to teach rightful moral principles are different in their souls. They are not the same kind of poem even though they may resemble one another. . . . As seen in the fifty-four chapters of *The Tale of Genji,* the author Murasaki Shikibu's original purpose was to make the book a vehicle to convey the five cardinal articles of morality[26] and to encourage the pursuit for salvation. Yet, on the surface, it appears to be nothing more than an amorous tale. Zhuangzi's *gūgen* teaches truth by means of pure fabrications, but if anyone takes his *gūgen* as an ordinary lie, I should say that he doesn't understand the *Zhuangzi* very well. The whole idea of Lin Xiyi's annotation [of the *Zhuangzi*] is all about what I have just said.[27]

As this passage suggests, Kigin restresses the orthodox point of view that the mission of poetry, and all literary writings as well, is to teach the truth and moral values. He also incorporates into his arguments Song Confucian ideas, suggesting the necessity of keeping a classical framework and cardinal moral principles in *haikai.*[28] The didactic interpretation of the *Zhuangzi* in Japanese literary criticism can be traced back to the medieval commentators of *The Tale of Genji.* In *Kakaishō* (Notes of rivers and seas, ca. 1367), for example, Yotsutsuji Yoshinari compared *The Tale of Genji* with Zhuangzi's *gūgen* to justify the moral value of fictional writing. Obviously, Kigin has followed this didactic interpretation in his view of the *Zhuangzi* and of Lin Xiyi's annotations.[29]

Kigin was the most important theorist of the Teimon School after Teitoku's death. His remarks reflected the general point of view of the highly educated Teimon masters and formed the basis of their dispute with the Danrin School in the 1670s.

The Danrin, the Essence of *Haikai,* and the *Zhuangzi*

Japanese literary historians see the rise of the Danrin School as a reaction to the formalism of Teimon poetry. At the beginning of the 1670s, groups of *haikai* poets who were discontent with the tepid humor of the

Teimon sought a new style. These groups, residing in the commercial cities Edo and Osaka, named themselves Danrin.

Around 1674, a conflict arose between the Teimon and the Danrin schools. When Nishiyama Sōin, the revered leader of the Danrin School, published a hundred-verse sequence entitled *Kabashira no hyakku* (Swarming mosquitoes: One hundred verses), the Teimon responded with a criticism called *Shibu'uchiwa* (An astringent fan),[30] whose metaphorical title means a powerful fan to beat off the mosquitoes of the Danrin. The work criticized Sōin's verses as "having lost the essence *(hon'i)* of poetry while simply spitting out whatever he wanted to say."[31] Defending his leader's work, Okanishi Ichū, a disciple of Sōin and a vocal member of the Danrin, wrote *Shibu'uchiwa hentō* (A response to "An astringent fan"). Thus, the two schools began a lengthy quarrel unprecedented in Japanese literary history.

As scholars see it today, *Kabashira no hyakku,* the target of the Teimon's criticism, marks an important step toward the formation of the Danrin style. In the short preface to the verses, Sōin writes: "Every living creature has a heart. It is said that even a flea's breath ascends to the heavens. Mosquitoes' buzzing does not spare a noble's head either."[32] The opening sentence parodies a famous statement in the preface to the classical *waka* anthology *Kokinshū:* "every living creature sings."[33] However, the imitation of the canonical voice is immediately replaced by an iconoclastic tone, which is indicative of what the Danrin leader sees as the *haikai* language and spirit. Mosquitoes and fleas are images that never before had been allowed to appear in classical poetry. Unlike cicadas *(semi)* and crickets *(kirigirisu),* which in conventionalized poetic diction typically evoke sentiments of serenity in the summer and melancholy in the autumn, fleas and mosquitoes belong to the disparate cultural sphere of the commoner's world. By celebrating such creatures, Sōin promotes a new poem that challenges what had been considered noble and important.

The satire in Sōin's words enraged the Teimon poets, who staidly postured as the rightful guards of orthodox tradition. In *Shibu'uchiwa,* the author questions:

> Isn't *haikai* after all a form of *waka*? Poetry is a way to assist government and to edify people. Although *haikai* uses vernacular words, its heart is the same [as that of *waka*] and it constantly reflects the four seasons. As shown at the *haikai* gathering, both the opening verses and the capping verses of *haikai* treat [the classical topics], such as the cherry blossoms

> at Yoshino, the view of the moon at the Akashi bay, the snow that nearly breaks the branches of the pine tree in the garden, and the moment when one listens to the singing of a cuckoo, feeling one's heart melted into the sky in the summer rain. The way of *haikai* looks askance at the pathos of things and reveres the truth of Buddha and the gods; it purges immoral facetiousness and is deeply rooted in virtue.[34]

This paragraph, appearing immediately before the accusation that the Danrin had lost the essence *(hon'i)* of poetry, reveals the Teimon's basic position: the essence of poetry lies in its sacred mission of teaching truth and its encoded signifying system. Compared with the *Kokinshū* prefaces, *Shibu'uchiwa* exhibits a much more didactic tone in describing the pragmatic ends of poetry. This perhaps has to do with the influence of the Song Confucian teaching that had become the controlling ideology of the Tokugawa rulers. However, the Teimon's *haikai* treatises reveal that the didactic concept of poetry is not an insignificant presence in the canonical texts of Japanese poetry. In fact, the Teimon theorists consciously refer to these canonical texts to deny the comic nature of *haikai*. Kigin, the suspected author of *Shibu'uchiwa,* refers to *Ōgishō* (Notes on poetic profundities, 1124–1144), a representative work of *waka* poetics written by the *waka* poet and critic Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104–1177) to define the meaning of *haikai:*

> Speaking of *haikai,* the *Ōgishō* says that *"haikai"* mentioned in the *Han shu* [The Han history] refers to *"guji."*[35] *"Gu"* means "wonderful meaning." *"Ji"* means "endless words." "The Origin of *Guji*" in *Shi ji* [Records of the history] says: "*Guji* was a type of wine decanter. Later the word was used to describe effortless creativity and endless expression, like a *guji* from which wine is poured out. . . .
>
> The two characters for *haikai* can be read as *wazagoto.* Because of that, people think that it is a kind of frivolous joke. But this is not necessarily true. As I mentioned earlier, although those who devoted themselves to *guji* were not directly dealing with the Way (C. *Dao;* J. *Dō*), they actually attained the Way. *Haikai* is different from the way of government, but it teaches wonderful truth. Therefore, *haikai* is like *guji:* its design seems to be oratorical and witty, and its language makes "fire" into "water," or reveals wonderful truth through comedy. Yet, *haikai* can convey what is deep in the heart through its words.[36]

Kigin's work that contains this passage is titled *Haikai umoregi* (*Haikai* and the buried tree, 1673). *Umoregi,* or a buried tree, is an *utamakura* (poetic toponym or place associated with classical poetry)[37] in the *waka*

diction. As Edward Kamens notes, this figure of "a buried tree," a once-living tree that metamorphosed into a stonelike substance when hidden under flowing water, is "a truly potent, pivotal, and association-rich poetic nominal" in the *waka* lexicon and has served for centuries in Japanese poetry as an entity almost like the *waka* tradition itself.[38] By choosing *umoregi* to indicate his topic, Kigin emphasizes the genealogical ties between his *haikai* theory and the *waka* tradition. In the passage, Kigin first tries to justify *haikai* by tracing the origin of the term to the *Han shu* and the *Shi ji,* two authoritative texts of Chinese history, and then stresses that *haikai,* though a comic poetic genre, can convey wonderful truth, perfectly complying with the orthodox concept of poetry. In the work the author also traces the pragmatic theories of poetry to *Kokinshū* and the six principles (C. *liuyi;* J. *rikugi*) in the "Great Preface" to the *Shi jing* (Classic of poetry), the most influential statement representing the Confucian pragmatic poetic theory.

> Regarding the six principles, in Japanese poetry they were found in the *Kokinshū.* Kyōgoku Kōmon says that the essence of the six principles is enunciated by *The Mao Version of the Classic of Poetry* and he recommends that people read it carefully. Among *renga* poets, the venerable Shinkei once said that the fundamentals [of the six principles] should permeate each verse. Sōyō also pointed out the same. *Haikai* is no exception.[39]

The Mao Version of the Classic of Poetry, particularly the "Great Preface" to the text, is the classical expression of the orthodox Confucian literary theory. Kigin in this passage refers to the famous *waka* poet and critic, Fujiwara no Teika (Kyōgoku Kōmon, 1162–1241) and the *renga* masters Shinkei (1406–1475) and Sōyō (1526–1563) to prove that the six principles have been part of the orthodox of Japanese poetry. In studies of Japanese poetry, it has often been noted that Japanese poetic theory shows a different orientation from the Confucian didactic tradition. However, Kigin's lengthy remarks on the six principles in *Haikai umoregi* portray a brief history of the pragmatic poetic theories closely associated with the Confucian didactic tradition. His explanation of the first principle, *fū* (C. *feng;* the suasive poem),[40] for example, goes on and on with citations from Chinese and Japanese classics:

> (1) *Fū.* The *Yakumo mishō*[41] says: "*Fū* is the suasive poem. It speaks of one thing by drawing upon another. It is to enlighten the listener's mind without spelling it out directly." According to Kyōgoku Kōmon, the term *fū* means to reveal the truth of one thing covertly by drawing upon

> another, and the *fū*-style *waka* has to be the same. A poem that does not put forth its intent directly but draws upon other things, whatever it speaks of, is called *fū*. According to Kiyosuke,[42] the Preface to *The Mao Version of Classic of Poetry* says: "Those above edify those below with *feng* (J. *fū*); those below also criticize those above with *feng*." (Note: Both edification through *feng* and criticism through *feng* mean to use allegorical references, which is to avoid speaking overtly.)[43] I think *fū* in the work means using allegorical reference. It is read *"sou"* [in its Japanese pronunciation]. *"Sou"* means to reveal the meaning while not presenting the topic overtly. Therefore, *fū* is called the suasive poem. In his study of the *Kokinshū,* Sōgi points out that there are different aspects stressed by the six principles in *The Mao Version of the Classic of Poetry,* which can be divided into the basic principles and the supporting methods, or the normative forms and the rhetorical modes, respectively. Also, some poems that belong to the category of *fū* use *kyō* (C. *xing;* evocative songs)[44] at the same time. Some scholars say that the way *feng* is used [in China] is slightly different from that in this country, but the meaning is the same.[45]

It is widely known that the Chinese term *feng* in the *Classic of Poetry* comes from a section titled "Guofeng," the "Airs of the States." In later critical writings it often is used to describe poems that are like the "Guofeng." The term sometimes also is interpreted as *feng* in the third tone, which means to criticize. In the *Kokinshū* prefaces, *feng* is translated into *soeuta,* the suasive poem, designating the later usage and the pragmatic function of the poem. Whether or not the six principles as explained in *Haikai umoregi* truly permeated Japanese poetry is questionable. As John Timothy Wixted points out, the way in which the *Kokinshū* prefaces cite the *Shi jing* may not be much more than paying homage to the Chinese classic.[46] However, what is noteworthy here is just how strongly Japanese writers felt the need to pay homage to the past and to seek the essence of poetry in the classical texts. Kigin's observation shows that the representative writers on Japanese poetry, from Teika to Sōgi, all referred to the six principles for theorization and considered the pragmatic mission fundamental to poetry. This fact indicates something deeper than paying homage to the Chinese classics

In his study of the textual culture of early imperial China, Christopher Leigh Connery suggests that "in Han China, knowledge and the transmission of knowledge derived authority from reference to a set of officially designated 'classical' texts through clearly delineated lines of commentary. There was a fundamental presumption of textual compe-

tence among national elite, officeholders, and local elite; this meant familiarity with the classical canon and its official commentary, as well as other texts, and compositional facility in a variety of genres and forms."[47] He points out that with a highly codified, at once expanding and self-limiting system of signification based on lexical, syntactic, generic, and subgeneric conventions as its medium,[48] this textual authority in turn determined the ways in which texts were written, read, and transmitted. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the tradition of Japanese poetry. Japanese poetry shows great reverence for the past, taking the classical texts as sources of authority. This tendency is clearly seen in both theorization and compositional practice since the classical age. References to classics can be found even in the earliest *waka* treatise, *Kakyō hyōshiki* (Classic of Japanese poetry: Examples and forms, 772). Written in Chinese characters, the work contains passages taken almost verbatim from the "Great Preface" to the *Shi jing.* The statement on the first page, "*waka* is to move the deepest emotions of gods and demons and to comfort the hearts of deities and people who are deep in love,"[49] for instance, is a paraphrased sentence from the "Great Preface."

This emphasis on classical reference, however, does not suggest an inability to theorize. Rather, it indicates a tradition that derives authority from classical texts: not only the fundamental purpose of poetry, but also the legitimacy of a new genre and subgenre, the criteria of a style, and the appropriation of significance, have to be justified through proper reference to canonical texts. When a classical reference is not available in Japanese texts, Chinese classics are used instead as the source for authority. It was precisely in this context that the *haikai* poets became greatly interested in the *Zhuangzi.* They found that the Daoist classic could be an authoritative paradigm for comic poetry.

It needs to be noted that the emphasis on classical reference is a predominant tendency not only of the conservative Teimon School. The Danrin, too, construct their theory by referring to the classical texts. In fact, Danrin theorist Ichū draws upon the same sources to define the nature and function of *haikai.* He writes:

> About *haikai,* in *Haikai mōgyū* [*Haikai* primer], I have traced its origins to the Japanese and Chinese classics, but it was based on my knowledge. It has been said in Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō* that although *haikai* is not a way of government, it teaches wonderful truth. Its effect seems to lie in oratory and wit. It makes fire into water, and reveals wonderful truth through comedy. It is the oratory of heart and oratory of language,

> the wit of heart and the wit of language, the comedy of heart and the comedy of language.[50]

The similar way in which the Teimon and the Danrin construct their theories is striking. However, while both the Teimon and the Danrin refer to the canonical texts to define *haikai,* the Danrin places great emphasis on its fictional and witty expressions, as Sōin states:

> The art of *haikai* places fabrication before truth. It is the *gūgen* of *waka,* the *kyōgen* of *renga.* It has been the teaching of the masters in the past that *haikai* should make *renga* its basis but also forget *renga.* I have wandered on the way of *haikai* for many years. Someone in China said that he realized what he had done wrong in the past forty-nine years when he turned fifty.[51] How could I, at age seventy, not realize my fault that others have seen? I have favored the "wrong" way because I know there is certain truth in it. Provided that in this world there are different kinds of people, all have their own way of doing things: some brilliant, some somber; some rich, some poor; some rightful, some immoral; some from the upper-rank families, some from the lower; some following the tradition of warriors, some possessing the virtue of a priest; some wearing a noble's red headgear, some wearing a doctor's hood; some showy, some chivalrous. One does not understand others, since no one can be in someone else's mind. Whether in the ancient style, the current style, or the middle style, a good poet is a good poet, and a bad one a bad one; the best thing is to enjoy oneself by playing with what one likes, not to judge which style is right. *Haikai* is a joke within a fantasy.[52]

Although not mentioned explicitly, the *gūgen* in Sōin's statement refers to that of the *Zhuangzi.* He made this clear elsewhere: "*Haikai,* a form of miscellaneous style, is the *gūgen* of *renga.* How can we not learn from Zhuang Zhou's writings and revere Moritake's tradition?"[53] In answering the Teimon's attack, Sōin also compares *haikai* with the *gūgen* of the *Zhuangzi,* but the way he interprets it is different from that of the Teimon. When Kigin refers to the function of *gūgen* to explain Teitoku's verses on love, he emphasizes that "Zhuangzi's *gūgen* teaches truth by means of pure fabrications." Sōin, on the other hand, stresses that "the art of *haikai* places fabrication before truth." This famous statement by Sōin reveals a new theoretical interest in the *Zhuangzi,* which is elaborated upon more clearly by Okanishi Ichū.

In *Haikai mōgyū,* Ichū argues eloquently that the wild humor, the unrestrained spirit and imagination, and the relativity of perspective found in the *Zhuangzi* represent the essence of *haikai.* He sees the es-

sence particularly in what he calls *gūgen,* which makes the impossible possible. Drawing upon the *Zhuangzi* to emphasize the Danrin School's deliberate reversal or undermining of conventional meanings and associations, Ichū writes:

> The essence of the *Zhuangzi* is seen entirely in *haikai.* Lin Xiyi writes in his notes on the "Carefree Wandering" chapter of the *Zhuangzi:* "Most readers don't understand the place where the author intends to be humorous; it is a technique that people today call 'disconnected speech.'" Lin also writes in his notes: "When reading the *Zhuangzi,* one finds that the essence of the entire text lies in *gūgen.*"
>
> The spirit of the *Zhuangzi* can, for example, be seen in the passage: "In the Northern Depth there is a fish called Kun. The fish is so huge that no one knows how many thousand *li* it measures. The fish changes and becomes a bird called Peng. No one knows how many thousand *li* the back of the bird measures. When the sea begins to move,[54] Peng sets off for the Southern Depth from the north. Its wings beat the water for three thousand *li* and, riding on the wind, the bird rises up ninety thousand *li.*"[55] Here is the heavenly wandering of mind, the ultimate freedom of change and spontaneity. In the same way, today's *haikai* should free itself from the narrow mind and leap into the vastness of heaven and earth, it should mix things that exist with those that do not, and be unrestricted in its methods and styles. We should know that this is the truth of *haikai.* We should maintain this spirit when composing verses on mountain travel, on outings in the fields, on cherry blossom viewing, and on appreciating the autumn leaves. Isn't this the carefree wandering of *haikai*? Let us take the great length of the five mountains of Mount Tai which extend over Qi and Lu and make it tiny, and let us make the tip of an autumn hair huge. Let us take the short life of a child who died at three months and make it long, and let us make the seven hundred years of Pengzu's life a passing moment.[56] Such mixing of big and small, the breaking of the common sense of the eternal and the ephemeral, the making of fabrication truth and of truth fabrication, the taking of right as wrong and of wrong as right—these are not only the *gūgen* found in the *Zhuangzi* but the very nature of *haikai.* In this way, we should say the essence of the art is to make free exaggerations and create the most deluding falsehoods.[57]

Differing from the Teimon, which borrows the concept of *gūgen* to prove the didactic nature of *haikai,* the Danrin intends to reinvent the essence of *haikai* by identifying *haikai* with the *Zhuangzi.* Opposing the orthodox position of the Teimon, which insists that the essence of *haikai* is "to assist government and to edify people," the Danrin declares that "the

essence of the art is to make free exaggerations and create the most deluding falsehoods." Ichū asserts:

> Tsurayuki writes in his preface to *Kokinshū* that the art of *waka* aids in government. But the essence of *haikai* is different. As mentioned above, Zhuangzi's *gūgen* and Laozi's nothingness are where *haikai* stands. Therefore, the poetic conceptions such as the verse "Even at the time/ When my father lay dying/I still kept farting" should not be condemned at all. It was precisely because Sōkan as a great *haikai* master understood the *gūgen*-like nature of *haikai* that he made every verse in his *Inu Tsukuba shū* a *gūgen*.[58]

Here, again, the classical reference lies in the foundation of *haikai*'s theorization. While attempting to free *haikai* from the old regulations and didactic missions, the Danrin still needed to anchor the new essence of *haikai* they articulated upon some authoritative classical text. In order to prove that the *Zhuangzi* has been a canonical source of the poetic essence since Japan's classical age, Ichū quotes from it extensively in *Haikai mōgyū* to explain the essence of poems, not only that of *haikai,* but also that of *waka* and *renga.* He shows how a personified cuckoo in a *Kokinshū* poem finds its essence in a *gūgen* in the *Zhuangzi,* which personifies a perch in a carriage rut. He also argues that a *haikai* verse which depicts Sōkan as a *shōgi* (Japanese chess) player actually conveys the essence of the fictional figures in the *Zhuangzi.* By demonstrating that "even the poems in the '*Haikai*' section of the *Kokinshū* draw their essence from the *gūgen* [in the *Zhuangzi*],"[59] Ichū argues that what is articulated in the *Zhuangzi* has long been part of the accepted normative essence of Japanese poetry.

With the *Zhuangzi* as a congenial frame of reference, the Danrin greatly broadened *haikai* expression. Sōin's *Kabashira no hyakku,* for instance, is a work that intentionally breaks the conventions of the existing signifying systems. One of Sōin's poems in *Kabashira no hyakku* deliberately changes the conventional essence of *mushi* (insect). The verse reads:

> "I want to eat a meal!"
> An insect is crying.
> *mama kuou to ya/mushi no naku ran*[60]

As discussed earlier, in the *waka* tradition an insect's cry, which is specifically a cricket's chirping, typically signifies autumn melancholy: its

faint singing breaking the stillness at night evokes profound loneliness and an awareness of the passing of the season. Sōin's verse, however, depicts an insect crying hungrily for food, creating a humorous twist on the traditional essence. The writer of *Shibu'uchiwa,* therefore, makes the following comments on the verse: "I never knew of an insect that eats meals or drinks wine. This must be an extraordinary bug. If the speaker never saw or heard of such an insect either, I would say this is a total fabrication. It is merely the speaker's fib."[61] Because the orthodox point of view designates poetry as a means to convey truth, fabrication is considered to be against the nature of poetry and harmful to its quality. To this criticism, Ichū replies:

> In the "Autumn Floods" chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* there is the following passage: "The Kui[62] said to the millipede, 'I have this one leg that I hop along on, though I make little progress. Now how in the world do you manage to work all those ten thousand legs of yours?' The millipede said, 'You don't understand.'"[63] This is a conversation between Kui and a millipede. As I have mentioned in *Haikai mōgyū,* the *Zhuangzi* also has birds and fish that can speak. . . . However, some *haikai* masters believe that this kind of expression betrays the normative essence, and they wouldn't write about anything that does not exist. I think we are fortunate to have a verse like the above now to awaken those *haikai* masters from the sleep of their minds. Although in *renga* there is nothing like this kind of expression, *haikai* should take this as its own essence. From now on when one composes *haikai,* one should understand this point and create verses, at least one, like this.[64]

Ichū's reply reveals the motivation behind the Danrin's interest in the *Zhuangzi*. By locating the essence of *haikai* in the unrestrained imagination and the deliberate reversal of conventional meanings of the *Zhuangzi,* the Danrin poets attempted to break the conventionalized poetic essence and introduce extracanonical materials and significance into *haikai.* The Danrin poets believed that "if wedded to old conventions and limited by codes, the style of a verse would be rigid and decrepit, losing the essence of the *gūgen*."[65] The presence of *haigon* or *haikai* words was considered by the Teimon to be the essential factor that distinguished *haikai* from *renga,* but it was less important to the Danrin poets. To them what made a good *haikai* verse was the spirit of *gūgen* embodied in the content.[66] These changes greatly widened the horizon of the poetic imagination of *haikai* and brought the comic verse one step forward toward its maturity.

The Nature of *Haikai* and the *Zhuangzi*

The great emphasis on the essence of *haikai* in the debate between the Teimon and the Danrin shows the deep roots of Japanese poetic tradition that looked to classical precedents for authority. It also demonstrates *haikai*'s fundamental needs for encoded signifiers and referential structures. These two factors related immediately to the nature of comic linked verse and contributed directly to *haikai*'s encounter with the *Zhuangzi*.

In determining the reasons for the *haikai* poets' interest in the *Zhuangzi,* previous studies have noted different factors. Kon Eizō argues that the Danrin School's interest in the *Zhuangzi* was not due to the intellectual environment of the early Tokugawa period, because pragmatic Confucianism was the dominant ideology and the intellectual climate was not conducive to the popularity of the *Zhuangzi*. He suggests that, although the Danrin School celebrated the novelty and unrestricted expression of the *Zhuangzi*'s *gūgen* and, by so doing, brought a change to the ossifying style of *haikai,* their interpretation of the *gūgen* had a lineal relation to the medieval *Genji monogatari* commentators' didactic view.[67]

In contrast to Kon's point of view, Nonomura Katsuhide argues that the Danrin's *gūgen* theory was a departure from earlier didactic theory.[68] He shows that although the Tokugawa government promoted Confucianism as its ruling ideology, many Confucian scholars, such as Nakae Tōju (1608–1648) and Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), held very positive opinions of Daoist teaching. Therefore, the intellectual climate of the time did not preclude Daoist teaching altogether. Instead, along with the popularity of a vernacular annotation of the *Zhuangzi,* Lin Xiyi's *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi,* educated people were generally attracted to Zhuangzi's writing style. Nonomura concludes that the Danrin School's advocacy of the *gūgen* was directly inspired by Lin Xiyi's interpretation of the *Zhuangzi,* which glorified its fictional expression and unrestrained imagination.

The discussion of this issue is carried further by Konishi Jin'ichi. Konishi summarizes Lin's explanation of *gūgen* in two aspects: the evocative expression and the embedded truth.[69] He notes that both the Teimon and the Danrin read the *Zhuangzi* through Lin Xiyi's text, but they stressed different aspects of the *gūgen,* the former emphasizing the truth and the latter the evocative expression. Konishi points out that it was through transcending the Danrin School's understanding of the *Zhuangzi* that Matsuo Bashō, the leader of the later Shōmon School, fruitfully adapted the Daoist principles in *haikai* creation.

The clarification of historical and textual factors has been very helpful in assessing the *haikai* poets' encounter with the *Zhuangzi.* An important issue, however, has not been fully explored: what are the internal factors that relate *haikai* to the Daoist classic? The fact that the *Zhuangzi* became an essential source of inspiration to all the major *haikai* schools cannot be explained simply by these external influences. The ultimate causes for *haikai*'s encounter with the *Zhuangzi* lie in the very nature of comic linked verse.

The nature of *haikai,* as described concisely by Ogata Tsutomu, can be characterized as a poetic form that "achieves multiple implications through twists and leaps, through the extremely short form of five-seven-five- or seven-seven-syllable lines, through everyday vernacular language, and through ironic treatment of spheres which have been excluded by the traditional *waka* and *renga.*"[70] As mentioned earlier, *haikai* inherited the formalistic features of *renga.* The most significant distinction the *haikai* masters made between *haikai* and classical *renga* was the use of *haigon,* the vernacular *haikai* language. By going beyond classic poetic diction, however, *haikai* created a void in its signifying system: *haigon* that had never before appeared in Japanese poetry lacked established poetic essence.

A classical poetic word *(kago)* is not simply an elegant locution. Delimited by the canonical poetic anthologies, each *kago* embodies a complex intertextual structure based on the classical texts and implies a cluster of conventionalized poetic essence, or *hon'i. Hon'i* not only defines the meaning of specific seasonal images, but also prescribes how a particular image should be presented. For instance, according to the normative essence, when the image of "winter rain" is used, it signifies specifically the *shigure,* a short shower in the early winter, even though there are different kinds of rain in the season. Similarly, the image of spring rain has to be a kind of quiet and misty drizzling. If a cuckoo needs to be present in the scene, it is not allowed to break the quietness with noisy calls, but it is permissible for the bird to emit a single lonely cry. In other words, in the traditional signifying system, a poetic image or motif becomes a strictly codified and heavily charged sign that does not simply signify the actual appearance of the external world or the speaker's internal feelings. Above all, such an image evokes the associations and significance conventionalized by the celebrated classical texts. Needless to say, this kind of conventional signifier limits the creativity of an individual poet. However, as an extremely concise poetic form and a product of group composition, *haikai* needs heavily charged signifiers in order to sustain its poetic expression.

The development of Japanese poetry shows a tendency toward brevity,

and this tendency is at its extreme in *haikai.* Except for a limited number of *chōka,* or long poems, collected in the oldest anthologies, shortness characterizes all remaining Japanese poetic forms. The thirty-one-syllable classical genre *waka* is already short, but an individual verse of a *renga* sequence is even shorter: *renga* breaks *waka*'s thirty-one-syllable form into seventeen- and fourteen-syllable shorter verses, building a linked verse through the alternation of the two types of short links. When *haikai* was reaching its maturity during the seventeenth century, the seventeen-syllable opening verse of a linked verse sequence, *hokku,* became independent and self-standing, forming one of the shortest poetic genres, known as *haiku* today. Although earlier *renga* masters also tried their hands at composing a sole opening verse, this was not a regular practice in classical *renga.* But, by the 1670s, composing a single *hokku* was already very common among *haikai* poets.[71]

Along with the independence of the opening verse, the movement toward brevity was also evident in the fragmentation of a linked verse sequence. In *haikai,* each seventeen- or fourteen-syllable link must represent an independent world. Teitoku once wrote: "There is a change from *waka* to *renga.* In *waka,* sometimes the meaning of the content of the preceding lines [seventeen syllables] in a poem can be given in the remaining lines [fourteen syllables]. But in *renga,* the preceding verse [seventeen syllables] and the following verse [fourteen syllables] must have their own meaning respectively. *Haikai* is even more strict in this requirement."[72]

The independence of individual verses in a linked sequence led to the condensation of *haikai* in both form and content. In order to expand the poetic capacity of a seventeen- or fourteen-syllable verse, *haikai* poets have to rely on mediating signs to build an intertextual construct. In addition, since the creation of a *haikai* sequence is a group activity and requires a constant shifting between the roles of speaker and audience, participants are at once the speakers and the listeners. As speakers, they must compose in accordance with the audience's expectation, while as listeners they are always expected to understand what the preceding poem is intended to mean and to respond immediately with an appropriate poem. Therefore, a familiar set of codified signs communicating the poetic conventions and criteria to all the participants is essential. In other words, *haikai* needs a body of mediating signs to translate the surface meaning of the limited words and to explain the deeper significance the poem suggests.

A word with *hon'i* functions as a mediating sign that generates two or more texts as well as the associated significance(s) simultaneously within

the poem, greatly increasing its significance-carrying capacity.[73] *Hon'i* also guides the reading of the poem, providing the necessary context or subcontext for the extemporaneous dialogue of a linked verse sequence. Therefore, not only do conservative Teimon poets such as Kigin discuss the use of *hon'i* in lengthy handbooks, the Danrin also stress *hon'i* in their *haikai* theories. However, when *haigon* is introduced, there is no convenient normative essence behind this important part of the *haikai* language. The lack of mediating power would directly affect the construction of the meaning of a brief *haikai* verse, either leaving it as a superficial parody or conveying only the surface value of the words. Apparently, this presented a serious problem to the *haikai* poets, who firmly believed that comic linked verse must convey multiple and profound meanings.

To remedy this problem, the Danrin School, and some Teimon poets as well, tried to include the *Zhuangzi* as an authoritative source of poetic essences. The *haikai* poets' encounter with the Daoist classic was a phenomenon that occurred at the intersection of deconstructing and reconstructing the classical tradition. As the latter half of the seventeenth century witnessed the renaissance of *haikai,* the *haikai* poets faced two seemingly contradictory demands. On the one hand, they had to go beyond the limits of convention in order to reach a popular audience and to establish *haikai*'s identity; on the other, they needed intertextual structures and a shared knowledge of instituted poetic signifiers to increase the capacity of each verse and to sustain the poetic dialogue in a group composition. Therefore, *haikai,* though a parodic, unconventional genre of popular culture, never completely broke away from the classical tradition. Instead, *haikai* poets constantly looked to the past for inspiration. As Haruo Shirane accurately observes, the development of *haikai* can be seen as a constant effort of refiguring cultural memory.[74]

The *Zhuangzi,* though not a native text, had been known in Japan since the Nara period and had the status and popularity of a classic among educated people. It was envisioned as a source of poetic essence in the cultural memories of the *haikai* poets for different reasons. To the Teimon poets, the *gūgen* of the *Zhuangzi* was a model text for the allegorical expression of *haikai.* The Danrin, on the contrary, took the bold laughter, the deliberate reversal of conventional meaning, and the unrestrained imagination of the *Zhuangzi* as a congenial frame of reference for the ironic approach of *haikai.* More significantly, the *Zhuangzi* asserts an aesthetic conviction that sees beautiful qualities in ordinary and even "low" things/beings. This attitude makes it immediately possible to discover wonderful meanings in the down-to-earth topics and vernacu-

lar language of *haikai* and to generate poetic essence for them. In other words, the Daoist classic can help transform a newly invented *haigon* into a mediating sign, which translates the surface meaning of the verse into the intended significance and provides the context of the poetic dialogue. The last feature of the *Zhuangzi,* in particular, explains the Danrin poets' lasting interest in the Daoist classic. The following examples from the Danrin collections clearly show how the *Zhuangzi* is used as an effective mediating source to fill the void in *haikai*'s signifying system.

In Sōin's *Kabashira no hyakku,* there is a verse that uses a peculiar place-name:

> The mountain path in Mount Emptiness,
> a drop of dew on the passing road.
> *utsuke no yamaji/kayoiji no tsuyu*[75]

Famous place-names, *meisho,* are one of the frequently used intertextual devices in Japanese poetry. In traditional poetics, "famous place" does not simply mean a famous site such as a tourist attraction. It refers to places famous in literary history—places to which many poems have been dedicated and hence specific *hon'i* have been attached. The use of a place-name, therefore, is limited to the famous places defined by the classical works and is expected to embody certain *hon'i.* "Mount Emptiness" in Sōin's poem, however, is a fictional place-name. From the conventional point of view, the use of an unknown place-name based on personal preference is a serious flaw. Annoyed by Sōin's liberal use of place-name, the author of *Shibu'uchiwa* asserts: "I have never heard of this 'famous place.' This, again, must have been made up according to the speaker's own opinion."[76]

Laughing at this accusation, Ichū replies: "You don't even know what Mount Emptiness means by now? In the *Zhuangzi* there is 'Not-Even-Anything Village' and 'the Field of Broad-and-Boundless.' The *Zhuangzi* also writes about places like 'north of the Red River and in the hills of Kunlun,' but there are no such mountains or fields. 'Mount Emptiness' is the same kind of image. You should understand that the entire verse is intended to express what is meant by the word Emptiness."[77] Not-Even-Anything Village (C. Wu he you zhi xiang; J. Mu ka u no sato) and the Field of Broad-and-Boundless (C. Guang mo zhi ye; J. Kōbaku no no)[78] are both fictional places depicted in the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. Rather than the literal meaning of the names, these metaphorical images signify a boundless world that transcends all worldly exist-

ences. Ichū's reply shows that metaphorical expressions like Not-Even-Anything Village and the Field of Broad-and-Boundless in the *Zhuangzi* already have become common knowledge among the Danrin poets, and that this shared knowledge is the basis of their understanding of Sōin's verse. He ridicules the author of *Shibu'uchiwa* for not knowing these famous words of the *Zhuangzi,* pointing out that the essence of the entire poem lies in the place-name mediating the two texts. Like the metaphorical images in the *Zhuangzi,* "Mount Emptiness" reveals the intended meaning of the verse—the existential emptiness and transience.[79]

The Danrin poets use the *Zhuangzi* not only as a cardinal source of *hon'i* to enrich their poetic expressions, but also to increase the possibilities of joining verses together in a linked sequence. In *renga* and *haikai,* how to relate a joined verse, *tsukeku,* to the preceding verse, *maeku,* is a complicated art. There are three major ways of joining verses together, as described by the Shōmon poets: connection by words *(kotoba-zuke),* connection by content *(kokoro-zuke),* and connection by scent *(nioi-zuke).*[80] The Danrin favoured the content link. The way of joining also has its *hon'i,* of which the conventionalized associations of words, images, and themes are the core.

The existence of *hon'i* in linking is very important to a group composition, because it forms the basis of the shared knowledge that helps to create an extemporaneous sequence. However, when a *haigon* is used as the central image or theme, the conventional associations of words, images, and themes are no longer available to form the link. In order to bridge this gap in linking, the Danrin poets borrow the *Zhuangzi* to renew the principles regarding the *haikai* link. After the verse about the hungry bug cited earlier, Sōin has the following joined verse:

> Outing to the fields—
> running around and around
> once and again.
> *noasobi ni/kakemawarite wa/mata shite wa*[81]

The Teimon's *Shibu'uchiwa* considers this verse an inappropriate *tsukeku,* because there is no established connection of either the words or the contents between this and the preceding poem. In other words, the linking of the two verses is not based on the traditional *hon'i.* To disprove the Teimon's accusation, Ichū again refers to the *Zhuangzi.* He says: "Regarding the intended essence of joining, 'running around and around/ once and again' is connected to 'I want to eat my meal,' and 'Outing to the

fields' relates to 'An insect is crying.' Also, without changing anything, the combination of the two verses—the insect, at its outing to the fields, is running around and crying for a meal—reflects the *hon'i* of Zhuangzi's *gūgen* I have just mentioned. There is nothing inappropriate."[82] As seen earlier, the *gūgen* Ichū cites from the *Zhuangzi* is full of wild imagination and free fabrication, and he asserts that "*haikai* should take this as its own normative essence." Here Ichū applies this liberal spirit of creation to the method of linking. Evidently, by referring to the *Zhuangzi* the Danrin poets not only immensely expanded their signifying system but also enjoyed much greater freedom in creating novel links.

The Danrin's use of the *Zhuangzi,* however, was limited mainly to its unrestrained expressions and a few notions from the famous *gūgen* stories. As one might expect, the verses they produced with reference to the *Zhuangzi* did not have enduring appeal, although some of them left very novel impressions. Nonetheless, the Danrin's attempt to use the *Zhuangzi* to regenerate the existing signifying system did inspire later *haikai* poets. Matsuo Bashō (known as Matsuo Tōsei at the time), who studied with both the Teimon and the Danrin masters and later founded his own group, the Shōmon School, attained a deeper understanding of the poetic possibilities suggested by the Daoist classic through his observation of Chinese poetic tradition.

Chapter 2

From Falsehood to Sincerity

The Danrin's *gūgen* style prevailed in the world of *haikai* in the middle of the Enpō era (1673–1681). By the end of the 1670s, some of the Danrin poets were pushing "the free exaggerations" and "the most deluding falsehoods" to an extreme, promoting a style that some critics described as deviant *(itai)* and dissipated *(hōratsu)*.[1] While this deviant new phase of Danrin *haikai* invited more fierce criticism from the Teimon and other *haikai* circles, poets who were tired of the endless debate over different styles asserted that the genre should be essentially natural and truthful. This new trend, accompanied by a renewed interest in Daoist ideas, was reflected in the works of many major *haikai* poets, such as Ikenishi Gonsui, Shiinomoto Saimaro, Uejima Onitsura, and Matsuo Bashō. These poets shared a tendency toward naturalness and profundity, with the most gifted of the group, Bashō, epitomizing the characteristics of the new *haikai* style.

The Chinese Style and the Rise of the Shōmon School

From the end of the 1670s to the late 1680s, the "Chinese style" *(kanshibun chō)* prevailed among *haikai* circles. Use of Chinese words had been the hallmark of the *haikai* language *(haigon)* since the flourishing of the Teimon School, but the Chinese-style movement in this period utilized not only Chinese words but also Chinese syntax, often with an entire verse drawing upon classical Chinese texts. A strong force behind this development was a determination to elevate *haikai* to an art comparable to the best of Chinese poetry. It also was an effort to seek profound connotations of the *haigon* from a revered literary tradition other than that of *waka* and *renga*. Matsuo Bashō, who wrote under the pseudonym Tōsei at the time, founded a new *haikai* school (later referred to as Shōmon) amid the

Chinese-style movement. The name Tōsei, as many scholars have noted, indicates the *haikai* master's great admiration for the famous Chinese poet Li Bo (701–762). Tōsei, meaning "peach green" when translated literally, forms a perfect match with the name Li Bo, which literally means "plum white." Indeed, Chinese models played an important part in the Shōmon's imagination from its start. *Inaka no kuawase* (*Hokku* contest in the boondocks, 1680), fifty verses by Bashō's disciple Takarai Kikaku (1661–1707) arranged in the form of a contest with Bashō's comments, represents the Chinese style of the time. The preface to *Inaka no kuawase* says:

> Master Tōsei taught us the "*haikai* doctrines of boundlessness" in his Flitting and Fluttering Study *(Kukusai)*. He starts his lecture from the elegant taste of Su Shi, the unworldliness of Du Fu, and the sentiments of Huang Tingjian. The *haikai* style he advocates is profound and tranquil. Master Tōsei said: "Imagine the spring mists over the north bank of the Wei River when you are standing under the cherry blossoms on the Nerima hills; behold the clouds over the east bank of the Yangzi River when you are looking at the moon above the Kasai shore." Inspired by the Master's words, Rasha[2] composed fifty verses in Chinese style and divided them into left and right sides, called "the countrymen" and "the boors," respectively. Since the verses are coarse and the expressions robust, the contest is named "*Hokku* Contest in the Boondocks." It was judged by Master Tōsei. His comments encapsulated the quintessence of Zhuang Zi's thought; it could make the eloquent Lin Xiyi speechless.[3]

As did many Chinese-style writings of the time, this short preface uses many Chinese names and references. The three Chinese poets there mentioned, Su Shi (1037–1101), Du Fu (712–770), and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105), are also cited frequently in Lin Xiyi's explanation of the *Zhuangzi,* which indicates that Bashō's interest in Chinese poetry was closely associated with his reading of the *Zhuangzi.* As observed earlier, Lin's vernacular explanation of the *Zhuangzi, Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi,* was widely read in Japan at the time and greatly influenced the *haikai* poets' reading of the Daoist classic. Evidently, Bashō and his disciples also read the *Zhuangzi* through Lin's text. "The north bank of the Wei" implies the place where Du Fu once lived, and "the east bank of the Yangzi River" refers to Huiji, where Li Bo spent time composing poetry. By associating the "Nerima hills" and the "Kasai shore" with those Chinese names, Master Tōsei asks his disciples to identify their own world with that of the greatest Chinese poets. In addition to these names of Chinese poets and places, "boundless doctrines of *haikai*" parodies the "True Doc-

trines of Nanhua" *(Nanhua zhen jing)*—an alternate title used to refer to the *Zhuangzi* in China since Tang times.[4] The peculiar name "Flitting and Fluttering Study" comes from the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* which describes the butterfly "flitting and fluttering" in Zhuang Zhou's dream. Bashō also used the term *Kukusai* as one of his pseudonyms at the time. The literary names of the master, his teaching, and his study reflect how extensively Bashō and his school sought inspiration in Chinese sources.

As seen in this preface, Bashō and his disciples had a deep interest in the *Zhuangzi* from the very beginning of the school. One of the earliest Shōmon *haikai* collections, *Tōsei montei dokugin nijū kasen* (Twenty solo *kasen* sequences by the disciples of Tōsei, 1680) contains *haikai* sequences composed by twenty-one poets. Of these contributors, ten cited the *Zhuangzi* in their verses.[5] *Inaka no kuawase* also contains a large number of verses that make explicit or implicit allusions to the *Zhuangzi.* The following verse is from the sixth match:

> Riding on a kite
> to see the parting spring—
> the white clouds.
> *tobi ni notte/haru o okuru ni/shirakumo ya*[6]

Bashō judges this verse to be superior, for the first phrase, "Riding on a kite," implicitly alludes to the "Xiaoyaoyou" (Carefree wandering) chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* in which the philosopher Liezi is depicted as soaring to the skies by riding on the wind.[7] He says, "To wander freely riding on a kite in the boundless infinity--the joy in the verse on the right side is indeed endless."[8] This comment, appearing to be obscure without specific context, shows striking similarity to the wording of Lin Xiyi's explanation of the *Zhuangzi.* In the opening paragraph of his annotations to the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* Lin Xiyi explains *xiaoyaoyou* as follows: "'*Xiaoyaoyou*' is the fundamental theme of the chapter. The term encapsulates the essence of the seven Inner Chapters. '*You*' means the heavenly wandering of mind. '*Xiaoyao*' means carefree and joyful. . . . The whole book of the *Zhuangzi* puts 'joy' before anything else."[9] Clearly, in judging the poem Bashō not only imitates Lin's wording, but also follows his criteria. He values the poem more for its association with the *Zhuangzi* than for its bold fabrication and exaggeration. For Bashō and his disciples, Lin's explanation of the *Zhuangzi* was conceived not so much as a philosophical text but as a rich source of poetry, because Lin's annotation constantly refers to Chinese poetry and poetics. As we shall see in greater

detail in succeeding chapters, Lin's integration of Daoist teaching and poetry contributed directly to the Shōmon's awareness of the correspondence between Daoist principles and the Chinese poetic tradition. It was through this increasing awareness that the Shōmon distinguished themselves from their predecessors in their use of the *Zhuangzi.* Although many early members of the Shōmon, including its founder, Bashō, had studied *haikai* with the Danrin masters and their use of Zhuangzi's *gūgen* showed heavy influence from the Danrin,[10] creating witty jokes was no longer their main purpose. The Shōmon explored fictitious and exaggerated expressions not merely to achieve comic effect but to dramatize the ironic nature of worldly phenomena, as the *Zhuangzi* had originally sought to do. They emphasized the thematic profundity evoked through allusions to the Daoist classic. A poem that won the ninth match in the *Inaka* contest clearly demonstrates the school's pursuit of profundity.

> A barley in the wall
> laughs at the goose grasses:
> "A thousand years old?!"
> *kabe no mugi/mugura chitose o/warau to ka ya*[11]

The literal meaning of the verse seems to be very simple, but it contains a subtle reference to the *Zhuangzi,* as revealed by Bashō's following comments: "A barley in the wall reminds us of the morning mushroom that knows nothing of twilight or dawn, or the caterpillar that tries in vain to talk about the great rose of Sharon."[12] The morning mushroom and the caterpillar, both of which are used to deride the pitiful limitations of sentient beings, appear in the following paragraph of the *Zhuangzi:*

> Little understanding cannot come up to great understanding; the short-lived cannot come up to the long-lived. How do I know this is so? The morning mushroom knows nothing of twilight and dawn; the summer cicada knows nothing of spring and autumn. They are the short-lived. South of Chu there is a caterpillar which counts five hundred years as one spring and five hundred years as one autumn. Long, long ago there was a great rose of Sharon that counted eight thousand years as one spring and eight thousand years as one autumn. They are long-lived. Yet Pengzu alone is famous today for having lived a long time, and everybody tries to ape him. Isn't it pitiful![13]

Read in the context of the Daoist discourse, the theme of the barley's laughter is immensely deepened, and the verse creates a world at once

comic and tragic. The barley, whose life span is less than a year, cannot understand the existence of the perennial goose grasses, just as a short-lived morning mushroom can never see both twilight and dawn. While the barley's laugh is ignorant, the cause behind it—the limitation of life—is tragic. Thus, the humorous and seemingly lighthearted poem reveals a heavy truth—the ironic tragedy of life. This kind of heavy overtone embodied in comic imagery distinguishes the internalized irony of the Shōmon from the Danrin's witty wordplays.

The themes in another early Shōmon work, *Tokiwaya no kuawase* (*Hokku* contest of the everlasting, 1680), have a similar overtone. The following verse, which Bashō considered to be extremely well written, also uses the *Zhuangzi* as its model text:

> The tangerine and the kumquat
> laughed at the *daidai:*
> "You're big in name only."
> *daidai o/mikan to kinkan no/waratte iwaku*[14]

The metaphorical mode of this verse is made possible through its double allusions to the *Zhuangzi*. *Daidai,* a fruit of the citrus family, is big but tastes bitter. The sounds *"daidai"* in Japanese also suggest "big"; therefore, the good-tasting tangerine *(mikan)* and kumquat *(kinkan)* pour ridicule on the name of the *daidai,* laughing at its uselessness. This conception of the poem reworks two important themes of Zhuangzi's *gūgen.* One is the limitation of man's cognizance and knowledge, as seen in the images of the morning mushroom and the caterpillar. It has been noted that the image of the tangerine and kumquat laughing at the *daidai* is derived from the *gūgen* about the cicada and the little dove laughing at Peng in the *Zhuangzi.*[15] According to the *Zhuangzi,* Peng is a bird that can fly as high as ninety thousand *li* on a six-month flight. A cicada and a little dove laugh at this because they do not believe any bird can fly such a long distance. Through their ignorance, the *Zhuangzi* humorously reveals the pitiable existence of sentient beings. Sanpū's verse cited above imitates Zhuangzi's *gūgen,* but instead of depicting a lesser creature laughing at a greater creature, it satirizes the laughter of the privileged members of the citrus family. The tangerine and the kumquat laugh at it because they consider themselves superior to the *daidai,* which, in their eyes, is a useless fruit. By twisting the relative positions of those who are laughing and the one who is laughed at, the poem introduces another recurrent theme of the *Zhuangzi:* the absurdity of conventional values.

In the *Zhuangzi,* many *gūgen* stories make fun of established values and worldly concerns. One story, for instance, describes how Zhuangzi and Huizi[16] argue over the use of an exceptionally huge gourd. The *gūgen* relates that Huizi grows a huge gourd that can hold five *piculs.* Because the gourd is too big, Huizi finds it unsuitable for either a water container or a dipper, so he smashes it to pieces. Ridiculing Huizi's way of thinking, Zhuangzi asks: "Why didn't you think of making it into a great tub so you could go floating around the rivers and lakes, instead of worrying because it was too big and unwieldy to dip into things!"[17] The main point of this *gūgen* is that set values and man-imposed standards have brought nothing but meaningless limitations to people and restrictions to the world. Only by breaking with those conventions can one reach the ideal realm free of worries and harmonious with nature. In the *Zhuangzi,* this realm is called the "Not-Even-Anything Village" or the "Field of Broad-and-Boundless,"[18] which Lin Xiyi defines as "the joyful realm within the ultimate *Dao,* the *Dao* of *zaohua.*"[19] As the referee, Bashō regards highly the skillful construction of the double conceptions of the poem, noting that "the tangerine and kumquat laugh at the *daidai*—the verse constructs one conception within another, embodies truth within fabrication. It is a masterpiece that stands out from other verses. In this verse, one can see the heart of Zhuang Zhou. It is indeed the best poem, worthy of contemplation."[20]

The thematic tendencies of *Inaka no kuawase* and *Tokiwaya no kuawase* demonstrate the Shōmon's departure from the Danrin. Although their heavy use of Zhuangzi's *gūgen* still reflected the influence of the Danrin, to Bashō and his followers the essence of *haikai* was no longer to make "free exaggerations" and create "the most deluding falsehoods." Rather, the new school discovered in the *Zhuangzi* a deeper dimension of humor—internalized irony with philosophical depths. The preference for the "rustic," the joy of "free wandering," and the unrestrained laughter at worldly values presented in the Shōmon verses exemplified the poetic traits that Bashō later summarized as *fūkyō* (poetic eccentricity) and *fūryū* (poetic unconventionality). As we shall see, these two concepts, both derived from Chinese terms, brought together many elements from the recluse tradition in Chinese poetry, a tradition closely associated with the Daoist ideal and spirit, and left a deep mark on Shōmon poetry.

From the early period of Bashō's career as a *haikai* master, *fūkyō* and *fūryū* not only comprised an important part of his poetic ideal but also affected his way of life. The same year as *Inaka no kuawase* and *Tokiwaya no kuawase* were published, Bashō moved from the middle of

Edo to Fukagawa, a rustic area on the eastern bank of the Sumida River. Regarding this move, Bashō writes:

> After nine years, growing weary of living in the city,[21] I moved my dwelling to the vicinity of Fukagawa River. "Chang'an was, since ancient time, a place for fame and profit, a place difficult for those who are empty-handed and penniless to live." I found the person who said this to be very wise, and I wondered if this was because I myself was poor.
>
> Toward my brushwood door
> sending tree leaves for my tea—
> the stormy wind.
> *shiba no to ni/cha o konoha kaku/arashi ka na*[22]

The lines Bashō cites in the passage are from Bo Juyi's (772–846) poem "Farewell to Hermit Zhang on His Return to Songyang." Bashō compares Chang'an, the ancient capital of Tang China, to the city in which he had lived and links his renunciation of profit and fame to the Chinese poem. In classical *waka* and *renga,* stormy wind and falling leaves traditionally signify the autumnal/winter decay and are typically associated with a depressive, dispirited mood. Bashō's verse, however, humorously depicts the stormy wind as sending tree leaves to the poet for making tea. The contrast between the hard conditions and the humor—one highlights the other—creates an aura of spiritual joyfulness, which is defined by Lin Xiyi as the quintessence of poetry. In this way, Bashō consciously associates himself with the Chinese recluse poetic tradition, creating a self-image of rejoicing in the solitary and desolate hut life.

True Ingeniousness beyond Artifice

Bashō's move to Fukagawa was an epochal event in his poetic career. His self-portrait—as a hut dweller and constant wayfarer—from this period onward left a clear image of a recluse poet among the readers of his *haikai* for generations. Concerning Bashō's recluse tendency in his poetry, early studies have attributed his unique way of life to Zen influence, but more recent research tends to locate this phenomenon in more sophisticated contexts that are not limited to Buddhism.[23] As Haruo Shirane suggests, Bashō should not be taken simply as a "poet of life."[24] His eccentric way of life is a literary stance, an attempt to amplify *fūkyō,* or poetic eccentricity, in *haikai* poetics. In "On the Unreal Dwelling" (Genjūan no ki, 1690), a *haikai* prose piece written in his later years, the poet declares:

> But I should not have it thought from what I have said that I am devoted to solitude and seek only to hide my traces in the wilderness. Rather, I am like a sick man weary of people, or someone who is tired of the world. What is there to say? I have not led a clerical life, nor have I served in normal pursuits. Ever since I was very young I have been fond of my eccentric ways, and once I had come to make them the source of a livelihood, temporarily I thought, I discovered myself bound for life to the one line of my art, incapable and talentless as I am.[25]

Although the passage indicates that Bashō was "fond of [his] eccentric ways" ever since he was very young and that this eccentricity led him to his art, little is known about the poet's childhood. Existing evidence shows that Bashō had been teaching *haikai*—a life that could hardly be described as eccentric—before he abandoned his business in the city to move to Fukagawa. Nonetheless, whether his "eccentric way" of life led him to his art, or his art acquired the "eccentric way" of life, what is significant here is that Bashō draws a direct connection between the two. This integration of his poetic ideals with his way of life marked the Shōmon's belief in the "sincerity of poetry" *(fūga no makoto)*.[26] Although not in the exact sense of a believer's practice of his religion, Bashō's move to Fukagawa was a sincere effort to pursue the poetic eccentricity and unconventionality *(fūkyō* and *fūryū)*, which, as he saw it, were embodied in the aesthete-recluse tradition of China and Japan, and which were highlighted by the spirit of *xiaoyaoyou/shōyōyū*. The poems in *Minashiguri* (Empty chestnuts, 1683), a collection of *haikai* published after Bashō's move to Fukagawa, clearly reflect this pursuit. The following poem from that collection is a portrayal of Bashō's hut life:

> Ice—bitter-tasting—
> just enough to moisten
> the throat of the mole.
> *kōri nigaku/enso ga nodo o/uruoseri*[27]

While the verse is easily comprehensible as a humorous sketch of the hardship of the hut life, his choice of the Chinese word *"enso"* (mole) as the *haigon* draws our attention and causes us to feel unsatisfied with a mimetic reading. This peculiar image, in fact, is not merely a description of an animal that happened to be in the speaker's sight. As has been frequently pointed out, the mole is an image from a *gūgen* in the *Zhuangzi*. According to the *gūgen*, Yao, the legendary monarch, wants to cede the empire to recluse Xu You. Xu says:

> You govern the world and the world is already well governed. Now if I take your place, will I be doing it for a name? But name is only the guest of reality—will I be doing it so I can play the part of a guest? When the tailorbird builds her nest in the deep wood, she uses no more than one branch. When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Go home and forget the matter, my lord. I have no use for the rulership of the world![28]

Concerning the significance of the "tailorbird" and the "mole," Lin Xiyi explains: "That Xu You does not want to play the part of a guest means he does not let outer things dominate him. The 'tailorbird' and the 'mole' are metaphors Xu You uses for himself, implying that he, like the mole, is contented with what he has."[29] As indicated by Lin's explanations, the metaphor of the mole evokes a preference for simplicity and spiritual freedom, which carries the profound meaning Bashō seeks when using the word in his *hokku*. Thus, the mole functions not merely as an image in the poem, but also as a mediating sign that signifies the specific *hon'i,* or poetic essence. With this mediating sign, all the other details are translated, and the humor of the tableau takes on poetic depth: the mole is in fact the eccentric self-image of the speaker, who, following the aesthete-recluse tradition, finds perfect happiness in a solitary and humble life.

Bashō's allusion to the *Zhuangzi* demonstrates a fundamental difference from the poetry of the Danrin School: while forming an intertextual construct that amplifies the poetic significance, it also expresses the speaker's emotive experience that resonates with the tradition represented by the model text. In this meaning, Bashō's use of the classic is not only referential, but also expressive of the speaker's true feelings. It restores truthfulness to *haikai,* which, in the hands of the Danrin, had become a kind of intellectual game. This quality of Bashō's poetry owes much to his unique way of life as a hut dweller and wayfarer. As a sincere artist he lived the way he wanted to portray life in his art. It was not accidental that during this same period Bashō wrote a verse that has been considered a landmark in the formation of the Bashō style:

> On a withered branch
> a crow alighted—
> twilight in autumn.
> *kareeda ni/karasu no tomaritaru ya/aki no kure*[30]

This is a verisimilar sketch of a late autumn scene. The natural and simple portrayal points to a new direction of *haikai.* The poem differs not

only from the witty wordplay and exaggeration of the Danrin *haikai,* but also from the conceptual representations of the philosophical truth in *Inaka no kuawase* and *Tokiwaya no kuawase.* The aesthetic conviction behind this *hokku* can be seen in the preface to *Azuma no nikki* (Diary of the east),[31] a *haikai* collection in which the poem was published.

Azuma no nikki was compiled by Ikenishi Gonsui in 1681. The collection contains sixteen *hokku* by Tōsei (Bashō). Shiinomoto Saimaro declares in the preface that for *Azuma no nikki* Gonsui "selected mainly verses with high aspirations."[32] Saimaro criticizes the endless exchange of attacks between the Teimon and the Danrin, and points out that those who fight for stylistic supremacy do not understand the beauty of naturalness and spontaneity, and would never "see that true ingeniousness exists beyond artifice."[33] Saimaro ends his preface with references to the *Zhuangzi:*

> It is said: "Do words say something? Or do they say nothing? People suppose that words are different from the peeps of baby birds, but is there any difference, or isn't there?"
>
> When judging the old and the new styles, we should wait for the True Man *(zhenren)* and leave everything to the Heavenly Equality.[34]

The first half of this passage paraphrases an excerpt from the "Discussion on Making All Things Equal" (Qi wu lun) chapter of the *Zhuangzi.* The original text reads: "Words are not just wind. Words have something to say. But if what they have to say is not fixed, then do they really say something? Or do they say nothing? People suppose that words are different from the peeps of baby birds, but is there any difference, or isn't there?"[35] Evidently, Saimaro borrowed these words in his preface to discredit the arguments over the stylistic right and wrong as meaningless. The Heavenly Equality *(tianni)* is a term used by the *Zhuangzi* to designate the innate equality of all things and beings and their unison with the *tian* (Heaven) or the *Dao* (the Way). The True Man, also borrowed from the *Zhuangzi,* essentially refers to a Daoist sage who is aloof from worldly concerns and integrates himself with the Way of Heaven.[36] "A companion of Heaven,"[37] the True Man is described by the Daoist epistemology as both the embodiment and the medium of true knowledge. The *Zhuangzi* describes the relation between the True Man and true knowledge as follows:

> Knowing what it is that Heaven does, he lives with Heaven. Knowing what it is that man does, he uses the knowledge of what he knows to help out the knowledge of what he doesn't know, and lives out the years

> that Heaven gave him without being cut off midway—this is the perfection of knowledge.
>
> However, there is a difficulty. Knowledge must wait for something before it can be applicable, and that which it waits for is never certain. How, then, can I know that what I call Heaven is not really man, and what I call man is not really Heaven? There must first be a True Man before there can be true knowledge.[38]

The *Zhuangzi* considers the Way of Heaven the ultimate knowledge. The True Man as the faithful follower and interpreter of the Way of Heaven also is called "the Great and Venerable Teacher" (Da zongshi).[39] Only through the judgment of the True Man can one know what is the Way of Heaven, thereupon acquiring true knowledge, the *Dao*. Regarding the relation among the concepts of the True Man, Heaven, and the *Dao,* Lin Xiyi writes: "The Great and Venerable Teacher *is* the *Dao*. It also says that the sage follows Heaven; Heaven follows the *Dao;* the *Dao* follows the Natural *(ziran)*."[40] Thus, in Daoist epistemology, the True Man, Heaven, and the *Dao* are integrated under the notion of Natural as opposed to the artificial.

By choosing the True Man and the Way of Heaven as the key words in his argument, Saimaro not only criticizes the endless debate between the Teimon and the Danrin but also declares a theoretical position based on the Daoist notions. He calls for a poetic "aspiration," a pursuit of a new poetic principle that stresses the natural and the truthful. It is in this sense that Saimaro asserts "true ingeniousness exists beyond artifice."

The shift of poetic preference from fabrication to truthfulness appears not only in Bashō's verse but also in many poems contained in *Azuma no nikki*. The following verse by Gonsui is found in the same section where Bashō's crow poem appears.

> The moon sank
> behind the woman
> washing taros.
> *imo arau/onna ni tsuki wa/ochi ni keri*[41]

This portrait of common life stands clearly apart from the typical Danrin style. This and Bashō's preceding poem reflect the new *haikai* style represented by *Azuma no nikki* as well as three other *haikai* collections—*Edo shimmichi* (The new way of Edo, 1678), *Edo ja no sushi* (Edo snake sushi, 1679), and *Edo benkei* (Edo's tough men, 1680)—compiled by Gonsui earlier. Indeed, the emergence of the new style was not the result of the

effort of one *haikai* school. It was brought about by joint efforts of poets from different circles. Among them, Uejima Onitsura from the Itami area also accentuated the sincerity *(makoto)* of *haikai,* and his usage of *makoto* was strikingly relevant to the Daoist discourse of the Natural.

Onitsura and His *Makoto*

Like his contemporary Bashō, Uejima Onitsura studied *haikai* with both Teimon and Danrin masters in his youth. Although Onitsura never achieved the status Bashō did in *haikai* history, he was famous for his following statement concerning the nature of *haikai:* "Without sincerity *(makoto),* there would be no *haikai.*"[42] The two key terms used in the statement, *haikai* and *makoto,* present a semantic conflict. *Makoto* in Japanese basically means "truth," "faithfulness," and "genuineness."[43] *Haikai,* on the other hand, literally means "facetiousness" or "humor." By saying that "without *makoto* there would be no *haikai,*" Onitsura acknowledged a revolutionary change in the nature of comic linked verse. Before this change took place, *haikai* had been characterized as a poetry of "free exaggerations" and "the most deluding falsehoods."[44] The shift in critical emphasis from falsehood to truthfulness transformed the genre from an entertaining pastime to a serious literary form.

Because of its importance in *haikai* theories, Onitsura's *makoto* has garnered wide attention from *haikai* scholars. Yet, partly due to the lack of a clear definition by the author himself, scholarly opinions differ about the precise meaning of the concept, and existing studies have traced its derivation through various sources, including Zen doctrine, *waka* theories, and the Confucian teaching. The assumption that Onitsura's *makoto* originated in Zen doctrine is based on the preface he wrote to *Haidō Enō roku* (The way of *haikai:* Notes on Huineng's teaching, 1680). The preface begins with the lines: "Printed poetry books are not trees; the paper on which verses are recorded also has no stand. From the beginning not a thing is—this is the key to my *haikai.*"[45] Onitsura's lines are derived from a legendary verse of Huineng (J. Enō), the Sixth Patriarch of Zen Buddhism. The verse appears in Section Eight of *Liuzu fabao tanjing (The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch):*[46]

Bodhi originally has no tree,
The mirror also has no stand.
From the beginning not a thing is,
Where is there room for dust?[47]

The third line of the verse, which Onitsura quoted in his preface, is regarded as the most important doctrine Huineng contributed to Chan (J. Zen) Buddhism.[48] It is believed that the focus on the original nothingness, or original purity, of Buddha's nature distinguishes Huineng's doctrine of sudden enlightenment from that of his predecessors. It has been suggested that the Zen notion of original nothingness was the major source that awakened Onitsura to the necessity of *haikai* reform and led him to the conclusion that "without *makoto* there would be no *haikai*."[49] Onitsura's own writings, however, suggest that he was unable to understand the meaning of Huineng's words until he attained the true way of *haikai*. In the same preface cited above, Onitsura writes: "Only after I became awakened to the true way of *haikai* did I begin to understand the significance of Master Huineng's words 'not a thing is.' In the world of *haikai,* I saw many poets nowadays ignoring the true way of *haikai* while arguing endlessly over the old and new styles. I feel sorry for them."[50] It is clear that Onitsura borrowed the Zen term mainly to criticize the *haikai* poets' overemphasis on formalistic issues, and by citing Huineng's words he was calling for them to put aside their prejudice about stylistic differences and to open their minds to the true way of *haikai*. In fact, *Haikai Enō roku* came out years before Onitsura's grand statement "without *makoto* there would be no *haikai*" was published. Neither in his preface to *Haikai Enō roku* nor in his later writings did Onitsura directly associate the Zen notion with the concept of *makoto*. It would be arbitrary, therefore, to take Huineng's words as the direct inspiration for the formation of this concept.

On the other hand, although traditional *waka* theory left a notable imprint on Onitsura's writing, especially on his discussions concerning the interrelations among poetic feeling *(kokoro),* poetic diction *(kotoba),* and poetic style *(sugata),*[51] as far as the connotation of his *makoto* is concerned, there is not sufficient evidence to prove its direct connection to *waka* theory.[52] In discussing the derivation of Onitsura's *makoto,* Yokozawa Saburō and Ogata Tsutomu trace its roots to Confucian notions, particularly "virtue" *(de)* and "sincerity" (C. *cheng;* J. *makoto, sei*).[53] Western scholarship also notes the Confucian influence and ethical aspect of the term.[54] Yet, although Onitsura at times does talk about moral values in conjunction with *makoto,* moral integrity is only one aspect of the polysemous concept. With *makoto,* Onitsura has created a set of norms and notions regarding *haikai* creation, which cannot be inclusively ascribed to moral values. Evidence shows that his *makoto* places great emphasis on naturalness in *haikai* composition[55] and, in addition to

Confucian, Song Confucian, and Zen Buddhist sources, the Daoist principle of the Natural has exerted a crucial impact on his poetic ideal.

Onitsura describes his *makoto* as the result of a long search for the essence of *haikai,* which goes directly against the early *haikai* schools' views. He writes:

> *Haikai* is not the kind of art that, as is mistakenly understood, consists exclusively of funny lines and witty techniques. Since around 1681, I began to realize that *haikai* must have something profound in it. Seeking the essence of the poetry, I spent five years thinking of nothing else, and in the spring of 1685 I reached the conclusion that without *makoto* there would be no *haikai.*[56]

Although Onitsura says that his idea of *makoto* was formed around 1685, the earliest extant material containing the term is dated much later. *Makoto* first appears in a preface he wrote for *Haikai takasunago shū* (Sand dune collection of *haikai,* 1692). The opening paragraph of the preface reads:

> The great way of *haikai* cannot be obtained through mastering words, nor through the craftsmanship of poetic form. Let your mind wander freely in the heavens, indulge yourself in the *makoto* of snow, the moon, and the cherry blossoms, and get to know its wonderful essence. By so doing, you can cross the invisible dream bridge without difficulty, and you will feel the road [toward artistic supremacy] utterly smooth. All poetic themes, whether of the warbler singing among cherry blossoms, or the frog dwelling in the water, are all themes from heaven and earth.[57]

In this passage, *makoto* is defined as "the *makoto* of snow, the moon, and the cherry blossoms." Juxtaposing three traditional poetic motifs and aesthetic metaphors, Onitsura uses "snow," the "moon," and "cherry blossoms" to symbolize art and beauty. "The *makoto* of snow, the moon, and the cherry blossoms," therefore, can be understood as "the sincerity of art." He asserts that in order to enter one's dream realm of poetic excellence what a poet needs is not craftsmanship, but to acquire the sincerity of art. At the same time, "snow," the "moon," and "cherry blossoms" as images of nature also imply the natural world. "The *makoto* of snow, the moon and the cherry blossoms," hence, also suggests "the sincerity of nature" or, as Onitsura puts it, the sincerity of "heaven and earth," a concept that finds its parallel expression in the *Zhuangzi.*

A story in the "Xu Wugui" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* tells us how a

worthy man values the "sincerity of Heaven and earth" and disregards the vulgar and worldly "reward." The man, Ziqi, had eight sons, and a physiognomist told him that one of them would have the good fortune to enjoy the kind of food the lord of a kingdom had. Upon hearing this, Ziqi fell into great dejection. He said:

> When my son and I go wandering, we wander through Heaven and earth. He and I seek our delight in Heaven and our food from the earth. He and I do not engage in any undertakings, do not engage in any plots, do not engage in any peculiarities. He and I ride on the sincerity of Heaven and earth and do not allow things to set us at odds with it.[58]

Concerning this passage, the Song annotator Lin Xiyi explains:

> "To seek our delight in Heaven" means to follow the way of Heaven and enjoy oneself in that. "To seek our food from the earth" means to follow the way of life and be self-sufficient, not to indulge in extravagant desires. Engaging in worldly undertakings, one has to plot for himself. Worldly undertakings and selfish plots are peculiarities viewed from the Way of the Natural.[59]

"The sincerity of Heaven and earth" asserted by the Daoist texts negates all established worldly values. It is, therefore, readily renderable in nonpragmatic literary discourse. As demonstrated earlier in Yamaoka Genrin's *haibun,* Onitsura's conclusion that heaven and earth are the ultimate source of poetry was a belief shared by many *haikai* poets of this period. Although Onitsura does not openly mention the Daoist text in his preface like Genrin does in his *Takaragura,*[60] his wording and terminology show clear affinity to that of the *Zhuangzi.* The sentence "let your mind wander freely in the heavens" is immediately reminiscent of the Daoist discourse on carefree wandering, which reiterates that men who engage in it are able to transcend all worldly concerns, become one with nature, and travel about with great freedom. By saying that "all poetic themes, whether of the warbler singing among cherry blossoms, or the frog dwelling in the water, are all themes from heaven and earth," Onitsura seeks the *makoto* of art in the *makoto* of heaven and earth, and he fundamentally unifies the two into a single truth.

In Onitsura's later writings, *makoto* connotes first of all the natural and pure poetic mind, in his term, "the *makoto* of one's inborn nature": "The *makoto* of one's inborn nature refers to the state in which a breast-sucking baby smiles at blossoms and points at the moon. Unfortunately,

however, when so-called wisdom and wit emerge and the baby knows longing for tomorrow and looking forward to evening, great falsehood begins to arise."[61] A similarity between this passage and the earliest Daoist text, the *Laozi,* is clearly recognizable. In the teaching of the *Laozi* (and the *Zhuangzi* as well), naturalness and simplicity are described as the highest qualities of human nature and are often compared to a "newborn baby."[62] Onitsura's words, "when so-called wisdom and wit emerge and the baby knows longing for tomorrow and looking forward to evening, great falsehood begins to arise," is almost a paraphrase of Laozi's celebrated statement: "when wisdom and wit emerge, there is great falsehood."[63] Standing against the hypocrisy of existing values and institutions, the Daoist thinkers called for returning to original human nature—the purity of an innocent baby—by "exterminating the sage and discarding the wise."[64] Although the *Laozi* adopted a philosophical stance against existing institutions and Onitsura concerned himself with artistic expression, the correspondence between the two in the exhortation to return to naturalness and simplicity explains the *haikai* poets' renewed interest in Daoist philosophy. The Daoist principle of the Natural provided Onitsura and others with congenial theoretical weapons against the excessive ingenuity of the earlier Teimon and Danrin schools; through "the *makoto* of one's inborn nature" Onitsura articulated the importance of original simplicity in the appreciation and expression of beauty and poetry.

As seen in the *Haikai takasunago shū* preface, through *makoto,* Onitsura emphasized the unity of the sincerity of art and the sincerity of heaven and earth, an aesthetic belief shared by his contemporary Bashō. He suggested that the former be the truthful manifestation and embodiment of the latter. His view of the relationship between poetry and nature can also be seen in this passage from *Hitorigoto:* "A warbler sounds like a warbler and a frog like a frog—that's how each became a unique song. The truth that a warbler does not cry like a frog and a frog does not sing as a warbler is *makoto.*"[65]

The warbler and the frog, both traditional poetic themes and symbols since the *Kokinshū,* have been used as conventionalized props or seasonal words in *waka* and *renga,* respectively, with their codified poetic essences *(hon'i).* In the spirit of *makoto,* Onitsura places emphasis on the faithful representation of the true nature of each being instead of the imitation of conventions. Integrating the sincerity of art and the sincerity of heaven and earth, Onitsura's *makoto* strongly opposes the artificiality found in earlier *haikai.* He writes: "*Haikai* from a long time ago focused on rhetorical artifice, and the verses are often frivolous, either conceited

in style, or garnished with flowery words. But when we examine carefully the good poems, we will find that they are neither ingenious in the use of words nor embellished in the forms. They read naturally and have profound meaning."[66] Onitsura believes that overingenuity will seriously harm poetic quality. "In composing a poem," he says, "if the poet only concentrates on the ingenuity of form and words, the verse will lack *makoto*. One should pay no attention to the form and words but concentrate on the embodiment of profound meaning. Do not both ancient poetry and prose seek such a realm and employ what naturally comes to mind?"[67]

While emphasizing naturalness and spontaneity, Onitsura believes that *makoto* is a principle one acquires through proper training in the fundamental Way of *haikai*. It should develop naturally and not be mistaken as merely one of the ordinary poetic devices. He writes:

> Making an effort to eliminate falsehood and pursue *makoto* is, of course, better than promoting falsehood, but it will result in artificial verses in which the *"makoto"* is crafted. People who properly train in the Way pay particular attention to neither falsehood nor truth; as a result, there is no falsehood in each poem and *makoto* emerges spontaneously. Only this can be called the *makoto* of spontaneity.[68]

As the ultimate principle of poetry, Onitsura's *makoto* gives absolute importance to naturalness in composing *haikai*. In this meaning, his *makoto* shares a similar critical emphasis with Bashō's *fūga no makoto* (the sincerity of poetry). Although there is no evidence that the two poets were aware of each other's concept of *makoto*, their similar views reveal the new critical interest in the *haikai* reform.

To illustrate his ideal of *haikai*, Onitsura once composed the following poem:

> Priest Kūdō asked me: "What is the key of *haikai?*" I replied:
>
> > In the front of the garden
> > it has whitely blossomed—
> > the camellia.
> > *teizen ni/shiroku saitaru/tsubaki kana*[69]

The verse opens with a Chinese word, *teizen*, "in the front of the garden," which functions as a *haigon*, but not to the effect of wit or the grotesque, like the Chinese words used by many Danrin *haikai* poets earlier; it exists naturally as part of the scene. The image of a camellia appears frequently

in classical Japanese poetry. Although camellias bloom in different colors, it is the red camellia that has become part of the conventional *hon'i* of the poetic motif. By writing a poem that ignores both the conventional imagery and the witty effect of *haigon,* Onitsura manifests *makoto* in his intuitive and truthful expression. The poem is so simple and bland that it makes the reader wonder how the profundity with which Onitsura is so concerned can be justified. It is precisely "bareness" and "simplicity," however, that characterize the highest aesthetic realm Onitsura pursued. He writes: "A good poet is someone who can make a verse interesting. A master is someone whose verse does not sound interesting but has a flavor deep inside. A still higher stage is when a poet has reached the utmost of the art and his poem presents neither color nor fragrance. Only at that stage one can be accredited as having obtained the quintessence of *haikai.*"[70]

Discerning the attractiveness to the senses of true beauty, Onitsura believes that the highest aesthetic realm is the blandest—a realm having "neither color nor fragrance." The odd terms and criteria Onitsura uses here also have their philosophical underpinnings in Daoist texts. In advocating naturalness as the universal principle, the *Laozi* negates all kinds of artifice and extravagance, declaring that "the five colors make man's eyes blind; the five notes make his ears deaf; the five tastes injure his palate."[71] The truest form in which the *Dao* is embodied, according to the *Laozi,* is the most bare and simple, like an "uncarved block." Because flowery embellishments and artifice are considered harmful to the original naturalness, or the *Dao,* Laozi concludes that "truthful words are not beautiful; beautiful words are not truthful."[72] The following passage from the *Laozi* provides a very illuminating explanation for Onitsura's position: "The *Dao* expressed through the mouth is so bland that it has no flavor; it is not showy enough to be seen, it is not loud enough to be heard; yet it cannot be exhausted by use."[73] With the *Laozi* as a reference, the implication of Onitsura's statement becomes much clearer: blandness is viewed as profound because it manifests the Natural, the fundamental principle of the universe.

It has been noted that at least as early as 1686 (the period when Onitsura first conceived *makoto*), Onitsura's work already contained quotations from the sixth chapter of the *Laozi.*[74] The overall tendency of Onitsura's *haikai* theory also reflects a deep influence of the Daoist discourse. However, unlike Bashō, whose understanding of Daoist notions was closely related to his keen perception of the Chinese poetic tradition, Onitsura went little beyond the limits of some basic Daoist concepts, and

his overemphasis on unpretentiousness and simplicity led his poetry to excessive bareness. On the first anniversary of his son's death, Onitsura wrote the following poem:

> I haven't forgotten him
> even for a moment
> since last year.
> *kyonen yori/monohitotoki mo/wasurarenu*[75]

The verse no doubt contains *makoto:* the speaker's sorrow is truthfully and genuinely recorded, but the extremely insipid presentation of such an emotional topic wields little affective power. Onitsura believed that "words that spontaneously flow out of the mouth are all poems,"[76] but, as shown in his own verse, this is not always true. Truthfulness is not in itself true art; in this sense, the difference between Onitsura's *makoto* and Bashō's *fūga no makoto* to a certain extent determined the different levels of their artistic achievements.

Chapter 3

Bashō's *Fūkyō* and the Spirit of *Shōyōyū*

With his move to Fukagawa, Bashō's thematic emphasis shifted from explicit philosophical truth to poetic truth, or to use his own term, *fūga no makoto*. Yet the truth of poetry Bashō and his school pursued was infused with Daoist ideas, particularly the spirit of carefree wandering *(shōyōyū)*. Hirota Jirō even goes so far as to call Bashō's dwelling at Fukagawa "a site of *shōyōyū*."[1] Bashō and his school were interested in *shōyōyū,* not simply for its philosophical implications, but more out of aspiration to re-create the poetic profundity they saw in Chinese poetry, particularly in the poems that magnified the spirit of carefree wandering, a thematic emphasis the Shōmon often described with *fūkyō* (poetic eccentricity). Four years after his relocation to Fukagawa, from 1684 to 1689, Bashō went on a "perpetual" wandering. These years, a period Ogata Tsutomu describes as "a season of poetic eccentricity" *(fūkyō no kisetsu)*,[2] proved to be a very fruitful phase in Bashō's career: based on his hut life and journey, he wrote a series of travel journals *(kikōbun),* including *Nozarashi kikō* (A weather-beaten journey), *Oi no kobumi* (Essays in my pannier), and *Oku no hosomichi* (Narrow road to the depths). These travel journals contain most of Bashō's best poems.

Recluse themes in Japanese literary travel journals began in the Kamakura period and attained prominence in the *kikōbun* written by the Muromachi *waka* and *renga* masters. Although Bashō positioned himself in line with the tradition of such eminent medieval priests/poets as Sōgi (1421–1502) and Sōchō (1448–1532), his *kikōbun* comprised a new genre of *haikai* literature.[3] They imbue the travel journal with the enlightening humor and deliberate eccentricity that characteristically reflect the *shōyōyū* spirit, reenvisioning and redefining the poetic landscape through the *haikai* imagination.

The element of eccentricity seems to have been associated with the comic genres in traditional Japanese literature, and almost all the existing comic literary forms have been referred to as *kyō,* or eccentric: *kyōka* (eccentric *waka*), *kyōshi* (eccentric poem written in Chinese), *kyōbun* (eccentric prose), and *kyōgen* (eccentric drama). *Haikai* as the humorous and aberrant counterpart to serious classical linked verse *(ushin no renga)* was also called "eccentric verse" *(kyōku).*[4] In this tradition, to retain the identity of comic linked verse means to maintain its eccentric stance. The eccentricity of *haikai* before Bashō was achieved either through dramatized vulgarity, as seen in Sōkan's poem on the Sao Goddess, or through wild exaggeration and fabrication, typically found in the Danrin poets' verses. In order to transform *haikai* into poetry that would convey profound meaning, Bashō and his followers reinvented the eccentricity of *haikai* by creating the persona of the unworldly recluse and by introducing the *shōyōyū* spirit into the context of *haikai* dialogue.

The Dialogic Context of Eccentric Verse

As mentioned in Chapter 1, in addition to its extremely short form and comic nature, a dialogic mode is an important characteristic of *haikai.* Poetry as a form of social exchange in Japan can be traced to the *mondōka* (dialogue songs) in the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters, 712). In Japan's earliest poem collection, *Manyōshū* (Anthology of ten thousand leaves, 749), two of the three major poetic categories—*zōka* (miscellaneous poems) and *sōmonka* (corresponsive poems)—often were written as greetings, congratulations, or extemporaneous exchanges on specific occasions. The dialogic tradition of poetry continued in *renga* and, when *haikai no renga* emerged, remained one of the basic features of the genre. Although before the rise of the Shōmon solo composition of a sequence *(dokugin)* was not uncommon, composition of *haikai* has been primarily collaborative in nature. The participants alternatively play the roles of both speaker and audience, forming a poetic dialogue of different voices and personae. As Ogata has pointed out, the dialogic and communal nature makes *haikai* "a product of the resonance of poetic minds, of what can be called the literary dialogue of a group."[5]

While both the Teimon and the Danrin published collections of solo sequences,[6] Bashō seems to have been particularly careful in preserving the dialogic and communal nature of *haikai.* He not only avoided using the solo format, but also stressed the indispensability of a salutatory address *(aisatsu)* in a *haikai* sequence, especially in the opening lines.[7]

Hattori Dohō (1657–1730), a disciple of Bashō and a major writer of the Shōmon, records Bashō's teaching on the salutatory dialogue in *haikai:*

> The second verse has been designated the host's task from the distant past. This, however, depends on the circumstances. The opening verse was called the "guest's opening verse," because in the old times it was always the guest who composed the opening verse as a greeting. The second verse then also carried a greeting as a response. The Master once said, "The second verse is called the host's verse, which means, it is a greeting." He taught us that even in a poem purely on snow, moon, or cherry blossoms, salutatory dialogue is embedded.[8]

Bashō's inclusion of the three classical themes, "snow," the "moon," and "cherry blossoms" instead of the conventional pair, the "moon" and "cherry blossoms," constitute both a variation on classical Chinese phraseology and a reference to the *waka* and *renga* traditions. In Chinese literature, "wind," "flower," "snow," and "moon" are often used together to imply poetic images, a romantic atmosphere, or literary writings. As mentioned earlier, the "moon" and "cherry blossoms" are classical images and themes in Japanese poetry and are frequently used together to symbolize beauty and art. In *haikai* poetics, this traditional symbolism is continually revered: *haikai* has strict rules regarding the appearance of the moon and cherry blossoms in a sequence. Each sequence must dedicate a certain number of verses at reserved locations *(jōza)* to the themes of the moon and cherry blossoms. In a thirty-six-verse sequence *(kasen),* which became the major form of the Shōmon School *haikai* after 1682, the reserved location for the moon is the fifth verse on the front page *(omote)* of the first sheet *(sho ori),* the eighth verse on the back page *(ura)* of the first sheet, and the eleventh verse on the front page of the second sheet *(ni no ori).* These verses are often the most important links in a sequence, and *haikai*'s connection with, and departure from, the classical tradition are typically demonstrated through these key links.

Therefore, Bashō's remark on "a poem purely on snow, moon, or cherry blossoms" does not simply refer to the opening or second verses that are designated to carry the *aisatsu* or greetings between the guest and the host. By requiring a salutatory dialogue in "a poem purely on snow, moon, or cherry blossoms," Bashō implies the existence of a poetic dialogue, not only between the speaker and the immediate audience, but also between *haikai* and the larger literary and aesthetic traditions, between the present and the poetic past. In other words, the Shōmon poets believe that *haikai* is always composed in a dialogic context—

either spatial, between the speaker and the audience, or temporal, between the *haikai* moment and the poetic past. In this meaning, *haikai* is a genre established on multidimensional dialogic contexts, which Ogata describes as consisting of a "horizontal, contemporary community" and a "vertical, historical community."[9]

The dialogic nature of *haikai* determines that the establishment of a new style depends more on reinventing the existing poetic conventions than on individual talent. In order to regenerate the essence of *haikai,* the poetic conventions, including images, themes, vocabulary, codes of expressions and interpretations as well as the audience's expectations, have to be changed or infused with new connotations. Bashō's adoption of the *shōyōyū* spirit was to achieve this goal: he drew on a larger and deeper context to open new *haikai* dialogue. Bashō did not simply copy stock expressions from the Daoist classics and Chinese poetry. He chose to relive the aesthetic experience of *shōyōyū,* to seek what his forerunners had sought, as he taught his disciples: "Follow the narrow thread of the way of poetry. Do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old; seek what they sought."[10] Seen with this meaning, Bashō's eccentric way of life was to provide a new context for *haikai* dialogue, a poetic horizon where the present and the past met, the spatial and the temporal dialogic contexts were unified, and the "horizontal, contemporary community" and the "vertical, historical community" were integrated.

In Bashō's writings, the aesthetic of eccentricity is expressed in various terms; frequent among them are *kyō, fūkyō,* and *kyōken* (eccentric and nonconforming). The celebration of eccentricity in Japanese literature had enjoyed a long history before Bashō. In medieval Buddhist priest-recluse literature, particularly the works of Kamo no Chōmei (1155–1216), Yoshida Kenkō (ca.1283–ca.1352), and Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481), "eccentricity" was already conceived of as an aesthetic value. The eccentric self-images created in their works owe much to the Zen Buddhist traditions, yet the Daoist traits in Chinese literature stand out conspicuously in their intertextual background. Chōmei's *Hōjōki* (An account of my ten-foot-square hut, 1212), for example, portrays a persona reminiscent of a Daoist recluse, prompting Marian Ury to point out that "[the account] is a self-conscious literary production in which the author's depiction of himself in his retirement could scarcely escape being shaped by the romantic image of the carefree and negligent Daoist recluse, so familiar to well-educated Japanese of the time through Chinese poetry."[11] Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa (Essays in Idleness)* associates his eccentric life spent in idleness with both the Daoist spirit and the tradition of

Chinese literati. Among the books he chose to read, he particularly mentions "the sayings of Laozi, and the chapters of Zhuangzi."[12] He also cites a poem of Ji Kang (224–263), one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove (Zhu lin qi xian) of the Wei-Jin period, to express his joy in carefree wandering.[13] The "Seven Worthies," according to Chinese literary tradition, are Ruan Ji (210–263), Ji Kang, Shan Tao (205–283), Xiang Xiu (ca. 227–272), Liu Ling, Ruan Xian, and Wang Rong (234–305). In trying to stay away from corrupt and dangerous politics, they were said to have engaged in drinking and philosophical discussions in a bamboo grove outside Luoyang, the capital of China at the time. As we shall see in the next chapter, the writings and literary practices of the Seven Worthies and their contemporary literati reiterated Daoist ideas, and their eccentric self-portraits greatly enhanced the growth of the *fengliu* (J. *fūryū*) tradition, a literary and aesthetic trend deeply admired by Bashō and his disciples. It is noteworthy that Kenkō, a major contributor to the formation of the aesthete-recluse tradition in Japan, shows a strong awareness of the *shōyōyū* spirit and the Wei-Jin *fengliu.* In fact, this kind of awareness is even more clearly reflected in the poetry of Zen master Ikkyū.[14] The eccentric persona of Japanese poets such as Ikkyū played an important role in connecting the Japanese recluse tradition with the Wei-Jin *fengliu* and the *xiaoyaoyou* tradition, creating a model of poetic eccentricity for the *haikai* poets.

When Sōkan and Moritake attempted to make comic linked verse an autonomous poetic form in the early sixteenth century, *kyō* became a key element in *haikai* poetics that has been characterized as "oppositional."[15] But, as shown in the poem "The Sao Goddess/at the arrival of spring/stands when pissing," the kind of *kyō* in early *haikai* was centered on vulgar parody and wildness, creating not much more than a funny joke. The Danrin articulated the eccentric stance of *haikai* through exaggerations and falsehoods; yet formalistic novelty alone could not create profound poetry. By infusing Daoist ideas and principles into the dialogic context of *haikai,* Bashō attempted to transform the nature of *kyō* in *haikai* poetics fundamentally, making it a cornerstone of the Shōmon *haikai*'s intertextual structure.

The Eccentric as Poetic and the Spirit of *Shōyōyū*

Bashō's *fūkyō* celebrates the "poor," the "solitude," the "useless," the "idle," and the "unrestrained"; it poses an eccentric stance based on the

negation of worldly values—a stance explicitly similar to that of the carefree wandering in the *Zhuangzi.* In the following poem written at the beginning of the 1680s when he had just started his hut life, Bashō emphatically portrays himself as a marginalized figure outside of social norms.

> Rich families eat fine meat. Men of high aspirations fare on vegetable roots. But I lack both.
>
> > The snowy morning—
> > being alone, I am happy
> > eating a dried salmon.
> > *yuki no ashita/hitori karazake o/kami etari*[16]

The short note before the poem is representative of the Chinese style *(kanshibun chō).* It not only is written completely in Chinese words but also uses Chinese syntax, with the verb *"kuraiki"* (eat) placed before its object, *"niku"* (meat), instead of having the verb after the object, as in the normal Japanese word order. The second sentence in the note alludes to a Chinese work, *Caigen tan* (Notes on vegetable roots), which moralizes that a person who can endure hardship will be able to attain great achievements.[17] The last sentence in the note has double implications. *"Toboshi,"* which means both "poor" and "lack," suggests the poet's material poverty as well as his lack of worldly ambitions.[18] Dried salmon was an ordinary food item in Japan at the time, neither specifically extravagant nor especially modest.[19] In creating the humorous self-portrait of chewing a dried salmon, the poet champions the simple and ordinary as opposed to the wealthy and ambitious, presenting himself as an isolated eccentric who rejects and is rejected by prevailing social norms.

As indicated implicitly in his statement "I lack both," in celebrating austerity Bashō's *fūkyō* defies the Confucian aspirations cultivated through enduring poverty. Rather, his eccentricity is infused with the Daoist spirit of *shōyōyū.* In a *haibun* on the occasion of rebuilding his Bashō-an (Plantain hut), the poet writes:

> I regard a mind that has no material concern as venerable, and a person who lacks talent and knowledge as perfect. A shelterless perpetual wanderer is next to them. A man of strong free spirit can withstand the attack of the little quail's wings. One day, invited by an impulsive whirlwind, I went on a journey to the far north, and in the remote area my cypress rainhat was worn out. After three years of traveling, I returned to the eastern outskirts of Edo. Thinking of the past three

> autumns, I was overwhelmed by sentimental feelings and shed tears over the yellow chrysanthemums.
>
> The friendship of Sanpū and Kifū formed the pillars of my new hut, and Sora and Taisui adorned my dwelling with rustic beauty. The hut faces south, with its back against the winter cold, keeping cool amid the summer heat. A bamboo railing was built near the pond—they say it's for my love of moon viewing. Indeed, from the night when the crescent arises, I would worry about rain or clouds every nightfall. My friends thoughtfully sent me everything, filling my gourd with rice and my bottle with wine. They have planted bamboo and bushes around the hut, so it is now hidden deeply in the groves. "This is to accompany the beautiful moon," they said, and planted five plantain trees, whose leaves were more than seven feet long, almost large enough to cover a *koto* or to make a *biwa* case. Shaken by the wind, the plantain leaves wave like a phoenix's tail. Torn in the rain, they look like a green dragon's ears. Their new leaves grow each day, like what Zhang Hengqu has wished for his learning, and as if they are waiting to unroll under Master Huaisu's writing brush. Nonetheless, I am not following these two great models. I simply spend my carefree days in the shade, admiring these plantain leaves for their serenity as they are torn in the wind and the rain.
>
> Let plantain leaves
> hang over my pillars—
> the moon above my hut.
> *bashōba o/hashira ni kaken/io no tsuki*[20]

This account typically represents the dialogic nature of Bashō's *haikai.* The prose was written as an acknowledgment to Bashō's disciples and friends who built him a new hut. It is explicit, however, that the *haibun* also announces a literary and aesthetic tradition to a larger audience—horizontally, to the contemporary *haikai* community, and vertically, to the literary past and to readers who honor the tradition of *shōyōyū.* The opening statement, which in many ways follows the depiction of the Perfect Man in the *Zhuangzi,* declares the essence of *fūkyō* in Bashō's poetics: "I regard a mind that has no material concern as venerable, and a person who lacks talent and knowledge as perfect. A shelterless perpetual wanderer is next to them." "The attack of the little quail's wings"—a metaphor for small-minded people's prejudice against the venerable eccentric—is based on the *gūgen* of the little quail's laughing at Peng in the *Zhuangzi.* In fact, the *haibun* as a whole is interspersed with references to many Chinese texts. The bamboo bushes surrounding the plantain hut remind the reader of the bamboo grove where the Seven

Worthies hid themselves from corrupt politics. The yellow chrysanthemums contain a double allusion to Chinese poems. One is to famous lines by the foremost Chinese recluse poet, Tao Qian: "Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence,/Leisurely I glimpse the Southern Mountain."[21] The other is to Du Fu's work "Qiu xing ba shou" (Eight poems on autumn meditation), which has the following lines: "Seeing chrysanthemums blooming again, I shed nostalgic tears."[22] The "gourd," as mentioned in my first chapter, is also a referential image: it has been a symbol of the nonconforming stance in Chinese and Japanese recluse literature since the *Zhuangzi*'s famous discussion of its value.

Most interesting, in this account Bashō contrasts his eccentric self with two Chinese historical figures, Zhang Hengqu (1020–1077), a celebrated Song Confucian scholar, and Huaisu (725–785), a famous priest and calligrapher of the Tang dynasty. Both were model scholars who achieved success through hard work. It is said that when seeing the rapid growth of plantain leaves, Zhang wrote a poem expressing his wish that his learning might grow as fast as the plantain tree. Huaisu's name was related to the plantain because he used plantain leaves to practice writing skills when he could not afford to buy paper.[23] Diverging from their pursuits, Bashō announces that he follows neither of the model scholars: what he prefers is to spend his carefree days[24] in the shade of the plantain leaves, like a Daoist recluse indulging in carefree wandering.

In a different version of the *haibun,* before the sentence that makes reference to Huaisu and Zhang Hengqu, the poet describes the plantain tree thus: "It belongs to a type of useless mountain tree, and has a venerable character."[25] The "useless mountain tree," an allusion to the "Mountain Tree" chapter in the *Zhuangzi*[26] that begins with the following *gūgen* story on a mountain tree, highlights the unconventional Daoist stance.

> Zhuangzi was walking in the mountains when he saw a huge tree, its branches and leaves thick and lush. A woodcutter paused by its side but made no move to cut it down. When Zhuangzi asked the reason, he replied, "There's nothing it could be used for!" Zhuangzi said, "Because of its worthlessness, this tree is able to live out the years Heaven gave it."[27]

In the *Zhuangzi,* the absurdity of conventional values is a recurrent theme. Many *gūgen* stories in the work deliberately go against existing values and conventions, laughing at the "talented" and "useful" and praising the "incapable" and "useless." The first chapter, for instance, relates how Zhuangzi and Huizi[28] discuss the concepts of "useful" and "useless."

> Huizi said to Zhuangzi, "I have a big tree of the kind men call *shu.* Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy to apply a measuring line to, its branches too bent and twisty to match up to a compass or square. You could stand it by the road and no carpenter would look at it twice. Your words, too, are big and useless, and so everyone alike spurns them!"
>
> Zhuangzi said, "Maybe you've never seen a wildcat or a weasel. It crouches down and hides, watching for something to come along. It leaps and races east and west, not hesitating to go high or low—until it falls into the trap and dies in the net. Then again there's the yak, big as a cloud covering the sky. It certainly knows how to be big, though it doesn't know how to catch rats. Now you have this big tree and you're distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the Field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it? Axes will never shorten its life, nothing can ever harm it. If there is no use for it, how can it come to grief or pain?"[29]

In the discussion, Zhuangzi seems to have dragged in all sorts of irrelevant matters to support his argument, but by so doing he not only negates Huizi's low opinion of the big tree but also fundamentally criticizes his way of thinking. In response to Huizi's comments on the gnarled tree, Zhuangzi argues that crouched things are not necessarily all incapable or useless: a crouched wildcat or weasel can be very quick in catching small animals. Yet, being capable is not necessarily good. Like a swift wildcat that often falls into the trap, capability can be a source of danger. On the other hand, because something is big does not always mean that it is capable—a big yak cannot compete with the little weasel in catching rats. In the same sense, uselessness cannot be seen as misfortune—an unwanted tree invites no ax to harm it. Zhuangzi's point is clear: all things have reasons for their existence and should not be judged by fixed values. If one does away with worldly concerns and breaks with conventional standards, there will be no grief or pain. Zhuangzi's notions of "Not-Even-Anything Village" and the "Field of Broad-and-Boundless" suggest an ideal realm for unworldly nonconformists, and the nonpragmatic unconventionality of the Daoist classics thus provides a philosophical basis for Bashō's eccentricity. In this context, "the useless mountain tree" in Bashō's *haibun* can be seen as a Daoist symbol that eschews worldly values and celebrates carefree wandering. Bashō makes it clear that it is the spirit of *shōyōyū,* not the aspirations of Confucian or Buddhist scholars, that constitutes the essence *(hon'i)* of the *haibun.* This essence is also the profundity that Bashō imparted to the aesthetic of *kyō* in *haikai.*

Chinese Poetry and Bashō's Concept of *Fūkyō*

As seen in the portrait of his plantain hut, Bashō's *fūkyō* consciously integrated Daoist ideas with the recluse tradition in Chinese poetry. By following the *shōyōyū* tradition, Bashō shared his aesthetic experience with his Chinese forerunners, yet he created an entirely new world. In "Reflection on My Thatched Hut," written in 1681 and collected in *Musashiburi* (The Musashi song, 1682), Bashō reflects on the leaky roof of his plantain hut, a topic that had been treated repeatedly by the great Chinese poets.

> Plantain in a storm—
> a night listening to rain
> dripping in a tub.
> *bashō nowaki shite/tarai ni ame o/kiku yo kana*[30]

The poem appears to be a naturalistic sketch, but its connection to Chinese poetry is revealed by the poet's note on the poem collected in *Ise kikō* (A journey to Ise, 1773): "Old Du Fu had a poem on his grass-thatched roof ruined by the wind. Su Shi, deeply touched by Du's poem, also composed a verse on his leaky roof. Listening to the rain beating on plantain leaves from their world, I lie alone in my grass hut."[31]

Du Fu's poem mentioned here is "Maowu wei qiufeng suo po ge" (My thatched roof is torn by the autumn wind, 761). The title of Su Shi's poem, however, is not clear. It has been suggested that "Lian yu jiang zhang" (Continuous rain: The river has overflowed, 1095) is likely the one to which Bashō refers.[32] While both poems portray a lonely, rainy night, they are completely different in style and approach. Du Fu's poetic vision focuses on reality. The poet depicts in detail how the autumn wind tears the thatch from his roof and blows the stalks everywhere, and how children from the nearby village make fun of the speaker, who is impotent with age. Facing the ruthless wind and people who took his thatch away before his eyes, he "screamed lips dry and throat raw, but no use." Returning home, the poet finds:

> Above the bed the roof leaked,
> no place was dry,
> And the raindrops ran down like strings,
> without a break.
> I have lived through upheavals and ruin
> and have seldom slept very well,
> But have no idea how I shall pass
> this night of soaking.[33]

He wished, at the end of the poem, "to own a mighty mansion," "a great roof for the poorest gentlemen of all this world."

By contrast, Su Shi's protagonist is calm and detached. Living in exile in his sixties, the speaker projects in his poem not only the scene of a rainy night but also the state of his existence. He portrays himself as an eccentric who is in the scene yet remains beyond it, laughing at reality with a transcendent smile. Listening to the noise of the rain on the leaves of the banyan, the speaker does not care if it stops or continues: "Drenching rain hisses down, cooling the evening;/I lie and listen to banyan noise echo on the porch.... Even if it clears I have no place to go—/let it keep on all night pelting the empty stairs."[34]

In Chinese literary criticism, these two poems represent two different trends: Du's is praised for its verisimilitude and social consciousness, while Su's is celebrated for its attitude of transcending reality. Interestingly, Bashō mentions neither Du's social concern nor Su's attitude. However, he preserves the central images that have appeared in the poems of Du Fu and Su Shi—the wind, the rain, the leaky roof, and the sleepless protagonist—and focuses his vision on an aesthetic moment in which the present experience of the poet resonates with and fuses with the poetic past. In this vision most real-life details have disappeared, except for the "tub," a vernacular word that strikes a tone of *haikai.* There are only the plantain shaken and torn in the storm, the speaker who listens, and the rain that is heard; the rain, according to the poet, is from the world of his Chinese forerunners. With the rain as a transforming agent, the poetic horizon becomes symbolic: the storm connotes the force of nature; the sound of the leaking raindrops evokes loneliness and solitude; and the opening image, "plantain tree" *(bashō),* implies the poet's eccentric self. The image of the plantain, as described in Bashō's *haibun* "On Replanting the Plantain Tree," signifies an eccentric recluse in the Daoist spirit: "Although the plantain tree occasionally blooms, the flowers are not in the least showy; its trunk is thick, yet not worthy of a timberman's hatchet. It belongs to a type of useless mountain tree, and has a venerable character."

The plantain, which looks like a banana tree but rarely bears fruit in northeast Asia, grows rapidly in the summer, extending its leaves for five or six feet. Because its huge leaves are easily torn by the wind and rain, the plantain became a metaphor for the fleeting nature of man's world in both classical Chinese and Japanese literature. Donald H. Shively observes that one term used to refer to the plantain in Japanese poetry, *niwakigusa* (plant shunned in the gardens), indicates that some preju-

dice, or even taboo, existed against it. He suggests that the plantain was shunned because Buddhist texts often used it as a metaphor for the fragility of the human body.[35] A poem by Bashō's beloved poet Saigyō (1118–1190)[36] clearly employs the image in this vein.

> When the wind blows,
> it proves transience—
> the plantain leaves are torn;
> is this the symbol of the world,
> upon which men depend?
> *kaze fukeba/ada ni nariyuku/bashōba no/areba to mi o mo/tanomubeki ka wa*[37]

Although Bashō, too, captures the fragility of plantain leaves, the qualities he emphasizes are the uselessness of plantain, its contentment in solitude, and its submissiveness to the forces of nature. This celebration of the nonpragmatic quality of a plant is reminiscent of Zhuangzi's words to Huizi about the mountain tree: "Now you have this big tree and you're distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the Field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it?" This idle, "worthless," somehow eccentric yet venerable image is the characteristic self-portrait in Bashō's poetry. Evidently it is also the poetic self that Bashō sensed in and abstracted from the poems of Du Fu and Su Shi.

As observed, Du Fu and Su Shi are two very different poets. It is remarkable that among the numerous references Bashō cites from Du Fu, his social and political concerns are never mentioned. Instead, Bashō describes Du Fu as "unrestrained" *(share)*[38] and "austere" *(wabi)*,[39] the same qualities he stressed in the poetry of Su Shi and many other Chinese poets. This fact does not necessarily mean that Bashō misread Du Fu.[40] Rather, it shows that what interested Bashō about Chinese poetry was not an individual poet or style but a certain aesthetic value. Thematically, he was particularly drawn to the poetic eccentricity and unconventionality celebrated by many major Chinese poets. This interest explains why Bashō often cites together Chinese poets whose tendencies are so divergent that Chinese literary historians would be puzzled by such juxtapositions. In his postscript to *Minashiguri* (Empty chestnuts, 1683), for example, Bashō praises the verses in the collection as "tasting like the mellow wine of poetry by Li [Bo] and Du [Fu] and the unworldly gruel of Hanshan."[41] The three Chinese poets mentioned in the passage,

though all from the Tang period, are not usually considered representative of the same trend. In contrast to that of Du Fu, Li Bo's poetry is well known for its free spirit and unrestrained style. Hanshan, or "Cold Mountain," represents another type of poem. He is the attributed author of a Tang anthology, *Hanshan ji* (Anthology of Cold Mountain). Legend says that he was a poor eccentric scholar who lived in solitude at a place called Cold Cliff, but researchers suggest that the image of Hanshan was a literary fiction. Despite the differences among these poets, Bashō grasped the shared qualities in some of their poems, namely the celebration of *wabi,* or spiritual and poetic wealth in material poverty, and associated them all with the recluse themes that interested the Shōmon.

Empty Chestnuts, the title of the anthology and the metaphor Bashō uses to characterize it, is from one of the verses by the compiler. An image signifying the fruitless, worthless, and unwanted, *Empty Chestnuts* bears a heavy Daoist flavor. Bashō saw in this flavor poetic eccentricity, and he consciously articulated it in the *haikai* dialogue. The following *haikai* sequence written in 1684 can be seen as the Shōmon's experiment on the presentation of *fūkyō.*

Let's go to
the market shoppers, and sell
the snow on my rainhat.
ichibito ni/ide kore uran/kasa no yuki
(Bashō)

Knocking at the bar door with
his whip—a withered plum branch.
sake no to tadaku/muchi no karaume
(Hōgetsu)

Earlier than
the morning glories, he leaves,
a cloak trailing behind him.
asagao ni/sakidatsu horo o/hikizurite[42]
(Tokoku)

This trio sequence was composed when Bashō and his disciples gathered at Hōgetsu's residence for snow viewing—a traditional occasion for composing poems since the *Kokinshū.* Bashō's opening verse, however, moves away from the elegant portrayal of the beauty of snow in the classical poems and introduces an eccentric persona. The speaker suggests

selling a hatful of snow, which is meaningful to the spiritual wanderer but worthless to merchants and shoppers at the marketplace, mockingly contrasting his values with those of the commercial world.[43]

Responding to the *kyo* in the opening verse, the second poem also presents an eccentric persona: a drunken man knocking at the door of a bar with a withered plum branch. "Plum blossom" is a major motif in classical Japanese and Chinese poetry. Its pure white flowers and heavy fragrance conventionally are associated with nobility, refinement, or remembrance of love affairs. In the second verse, however, the conventional association is twisted: neither the color nor the fragrance of the plum blossoms is portrayed; instead, there is a withered plum branch in a drunken man's hand. A similar parody of the classical poetic essence is seen in the third poem, in which the image of "morning glory" is not used for its established *hon'i,* "brevity," but for what it is commonly famous—blossoming in the early morning.

Comparing these three poems, the latter two are far from reaching Bashō's depth in presenting the aesthetic of *fūkyō.* Yet, Bashō speaks positively of these verses simply because they contain the element of eccentricity. Hattori Dohō's *Sanzōshi* (Three books) records that Bashō's disciples had different opinions of the third verse, but Bashō said: "The third poem cannot be composed any differently. 'Knocking at the bar door with his whip' [in the second verse] could only be the action of a *fūkyō* poet. Considering the *fūryū* of the plum branch, it should not be any other figure but a warrior appearing in the third verse."[44] Bashō's comment on the continuation and progression between the second and third verses seems to have been based on the rule of antitheses—an image of a poet, the *bun* (literatus), in a preceding verse should be paired up with the *bu,* or a warrior. The *horo* in the third verse is a kind of cloak that protects a warrior from arrows; therefore, the persona in the verse is considered an image of *bu.* What is striking in his comments, however, is that eccentricity is taken as an essential quality of the *haikai* dialogue among the Shōmon poets. Bashō once taught his disciples: "The poetic mind must always remain detached *(mujō)* and eccentric *(kyōken).* The thematic materials must be chosen from ordinary life. The diction must be entirely from everyday language."[45] Indeed, eccentricity in Bashō's poetics concerns not only poetic expression but also the poetic mind, and it sets a general tone for *haikai* dialogue.

In the fall of 1684, Bashō left his plantain hut for a journey that was later described in the first of his travel journals, *Nozarashi kikō* (A weather-beaten journey). In the account Bashō introduces himself as a *fūkyō* poet:

> Composed on Entering Nagoya Area
> With a crazy verse
> and the withering blast—I must look
> much like Chikusai.
> *kyōku kogarashi no/mi wa Chikusai ni/nitaru kana*[46]

This verse drastically breaks from the standard syllabic format of *hokku.* It is not unusual to see an opening verse consisting of eighteen syllables instead of the regular seventeen, but this verse has twenty syllables, replacing the five-syllable opening phrase with an eight-syllable line. The unusual irregularity of the poem has made many readers wonder if the first word, *kyōku,* is part of the poem. Dohō's *Sanzōshi,* however, confirms that the poem originally begins with *"kyōku."*[47] The same version of the poem also appears as the opening verse of a *haikai* sequence in *Fuyu no hi* (The winter days, 1684), a collection of five *kasen* sequences Bashō produced with a group of poets in Nagoya in 1684. In *Fuyu no hi* the poem is preceded by a headnote:

> My bamboo hat had worn out in the rains of the long journey, and my paper jacket had become crumpled in the storms. A poor man utterly destitute, even I felt pity for myself. Suddenly I remembered that a gifted man of eccentric poetry had visited this province in the past, and I uttered:
>
> > With a crazy verse
> > and the withering blast—I must look
> > much like Chikusai.[48]

Bashō opened the poetic dialogue with a self-mocking portrait—a greeting at once showing his modesty to the hosts and introducing his new poetics of *fūkyō.* The "gifted man of eccentric poetry" refers to Chikusai, the protagonist of a contemporary comic tale. According to the tale, Chikusai, a quack doctor with a crazy love of eccentric *waka (kyōka),* had once traveled to Nagoya on his journey from Kyoto to Edo. By comparing himself to Chikusai and associating his *kyōku* with Chikusai's *kyōka,* Bashō suggests a new *haikai* spirit, *fūkyō,* whose "burning" devotion[49] to poetry is considered eccentric and crazy by the everyday world.

Evidently, Bashō's articulation of *fūkyō* in this opening verse goes beyond a portrait of the eccentric self; as Hori Nobuo has pointed out, "the *hokku* was Bashō's humble greeting to the poets in Nagoya who had overly high expectations of him as their teacher. At the same time, it was his way of inviting them to enter the world of *fūkyō* with him."[50] *Fuyu no*

hi, which began with the "eccentric verse" by Bashō, was the first major *haikai* anthology of the Shōmon School and was created by a group of poets who were not rooted in the Danrin style that dominated Edo *haikai* at the time. This provided Bashō with an opportunity to promote his new poetic ideal.[51] Indeed, Bashō's assertion of *fūkyō* in the opening verse was a conscious effort to introduce an extended poetic tradition into the *haikai* dialogue. His journey, in this sense, contributed importantly to spreading the *fūkyō* poetics among contemporary *haikai* communities, and to transforming and deepening the dialogic contexts of *haikai* through the *shōyōyū* spirit.

Shōyōyū and the *Haikai* Traveler

After his journey that produced *Nozarashi kikō,* Bashō emerged as a perpetual wanderer. In 1687, he took a trip to Kashima, which resulted in another travel account, *Kashima no ki* (A journey to Kashima). Bashō spent most of the following year journeying again, traveling to places famous in classical poetry *(utamakura)* and visiting poets in different provinces. He wrote two pieces of prose based on these journeys, *Oi no kobumi* (Essay in my pannier) and *Sarashina kikō* (A journey to Sarashina, 1688). In the spring of 1689, he undertook another major journey to the northern areas of Honshū; his experiences during this five-month wandering became the material for his best-known travel account, *Oku no hosomichi* (The narrow road to the depths). Between these major journeys, Bashō traveled constantly to meet his disciples and friends, and to visit places that are famous in poetry and historical monuments, devoting a great amount of creative energy to a genre he named *haibun,* particularly the *haikai kikōbun* (*haikai* travel journal).

Stemming from the travel poems *(kiryoka)* of *Manyōshū* and being closely associated with *utamakura* and poetic diaries, the Japanese travel journal as a literary genre is inseparable from poetry. From the earliest extant travel diary *Tosa nikki* (Tosa diary, ca. 935), attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki, Japanese literary travel journals followed a tradition of weaving poems and the introductory narratives in a sequential order. The travel journals that existed before Bashō were typically written in a first-person voice, with the traveler's itinerary revolving around the classical poetic toponym *(utamakura* or *meisho)* and the narrative centering on poems composed about them. The Japanese *kikōbun's* affinity to poetry also is evident in that most works representative of the genre have come from the hands of renowned poets. Given that Japanese poetry has

always accentuated the significance of landscape, the marriage of *kikōbun* and poetry is not a coincidence; in fact, the *kikōbun* provides an ideal form for poetic expression.

The fusion with poetry, however, simultaneously enriched and limited the aesthetic representation of the landscape of the *kikōbun:* when centering on classical poetic tradition, the geographical imagination of the travel journal was often defined by conceptions and conventions that had been molded by classical poetry rather than by the physical qualities of landscape. In classical Japanese poetry, each poetic toponym or seasonal word *(kigo)* has its established essence *(hon'i),* which determines not only what but also how landscape should be portrayed. In addition, the canonical literary travel journals bear a predominately melancholy tone inherited from classical poetry. For example, in the works of the famous travel poets, such as the *waka* poet Saigyō and the *renga* master Sōgi,[52] lament over the passing of seasons, the impermanence of life, and the chaos of the age are recurrent themes. When Bashō aspired to develop a new type of travel journal in *haikai* style, he confronted the same challenge *haikai* had faced when it reflourished in the early seventeenth century: in the shadows of tradition, Bashō had to re-present a classically defined landscape through a popular *haikai* vision and by using *haikai* language—vernacular Japanese that did not have the refined *hon'i* of classical diction and Chinese words that were not associated with classical poetic toponyms.

In his task of reinventing the *kikōbun* as well as the poetic landscape, Bashō again referred widely to the Daoist classics, especially the *Zhuangzi,* to generate a new poetic essence. The *Zhuangzi* had been envisioned as a source of poetic essence by *haikai* poets before the Shōmon School arose. The Teimon poets had borrowed the *gūgen* of the *Zhuangzi* as a model for the allegorical expression of *haikai.* The Danrin, in contrast, took the bold laughter, the deliberate reversal of conventional meaning, and the unrestrained imagination of the *Zhuangzi* as a congenial frame of reference for an unconventional approach to *haikai.*[53] More significantly, the *Zhuangzi* appeals to *haikai* poets because it asserts an aesthetic attitude that sees beauty in ordinary and even "low" things/beings, making it possible to discover wonderful meanings in down-to-earth topics and vernacular language and to regenerate poetic essence. As mentioned earlier, the Daoist classic is thus used in *haikai* to transform a newly invented *haigon* into a mediating sign, which translates the superficial meaning of a verse or text into the intended meaning and provides the context for poetic dialogue. The last feature of the *Zhuangzi,* in

particular, explains the prominent presence of the *shōyōyū* aesthetic in Bashō's *kikōbun:* the reiteration of the spirit of carefree wandering in Chinese poetry and its association with Chinese recluse-travel literature provide a meaning-giving context to his travel poems and journals.

In reinventing the poetic landscape, Bashō carefully reconfigured the traveler—the viewer of the land. From his first *kikōbun,* the traveler appears as a carefree wanderer. *Nozarashi kikō* opens with the following paragraph.

> An ancient priest said: "Traveling a thousand *li,* I gather no provisions,/ Under the midnight moon, I entered the land of Not-Even-Anything." Following his trek, I left my shattered hut on the bank of Fukagawa in the autumn of the first year of Jōkyō. The whistling winds were exceptionally cold.
>
> Ready to become
> a skeleton in the fields—
> the winds piercing my heart.
> *nozarashi o/kokoro ni kaze no/shimu mi kana*[54]

The opening lines of the *kikōbun,* particularly the first verse above, often have been cited by critics to illustrate the tragic and solemn nature of Bashō's journey and his travel record. An intertextual reading, however, reveals other implications. The ancient priest to whom Bashō refers is Guangwen (J. Kōmon), a Chinese Chan (Zen) Buddhist priest of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279). His verse paraphrased by Bashō was collected in *Jianghu fengyue ji* (J. *Gōko fūgetsu shū;* Winds and the moon at rivers and lakes: An anthology), a collection of Chinese poems by Chan Buddhist priests that was widely read in Japan. The first couplet of Guangwen's poem reads: "On my journey, I gather no provisions, but laugh and sing./Under the midnight moon, I entered the land of Not-Even-Anything."[55] Guangwen's lines, in turn, allude to the *Zhuangzi.* The first line is based on the following words in the "Carefree Wandering" chapter: "If you go off to the green woods nearby, you can take along food for three meals and come back with your stomach as full as ever. If you are going a hundred *li,* you must grind your grain the night before; and if you are going a thousand *li,* you must start getting the provisions together three months in advance."[56] The second line of Guangwen's poem alludes to the famous Not-Even-Anything Village in the *Zhuangzi,* the fictional place that signifies a world free of conventional values and institutions. Bashō rephrased the first line of Guangwen's verse and made the line closer to the wording in the

Zhuangzi. This change must not have been random, for the statement in the *Zhuangzi* is not advice for travel provisions, but a metaphor for people's differing aspirations in life and their understanding of the world. In the *Zhuangzi,* this statement appears after the famous *yuyan* (J. *gūgen*) about the cicada and the little quail laughing at the Peng bird.[57] Immediately after the statement, the *Zhuangzi* concludes: "What do these two creatures understand? Little understanding cannot come up to great understanding; the short-lived cannot come up to the long-lived."[58] The statement, as has been discussed in Chapter 1 of this book, challenges the established values and celebrates the *xiaoyaoyou* (J. *shōyōyū*) spirit. By rephrasing Guangwen's verse and making it more faithful to the Daoist classic, Bashō associates the significance of his travel with the *shōyōyū* tradition, creating an image of an eccentric traveler who has attained the great understanding of the *Dao* and who is determined to enter the world of carefree wandering.

In light of its association with the *Zhuangzi,* the beginning of *Nozarashi kikō* creates a transcendental but also humorous tone that is necessary to distinguish Bashō's *haikai kikōbun* from previous travel journals. As Ogata Tsutomu observes, even the skeleton, an image commonly seen as a symbol for death and often interpreted as an indication of Bashō's serious resolution for his dangerous journey, finds its humorous reference in the *Zhuangzi.*[59] In the "Perfect Happiness" chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* the Daoist master saw a skeleton on his way to Chu. He poked it with his carriage whip and asked how it had become a skeleton. After he had finished speaking, he dragged the skull over and, using it for a pillow, lay down to sleep.

> In the middle of the night, the skull came to him in a dream and said, "You chatter like a rhetorician and all your words betray the entanglements of a living man. The dead know nothing of these! Would you like to hear a lecture on the dead?"
>
> "Indeed," said Zhuangzi.
>
> The skull said, "Among the dead there are no rulers above, no subjects below, and no chores of the four seasons. With nothing to do, our springs and autumns are as endless as heaven and earth. A king facing south on his throne could have no more happiness than this!"
>
> Zhuangzi couldn't believe this and said, "If I got the Arbiter of Fate to give you a body again, make you some bones and flesh, return you to your parents and family and your old home and friends, you would want that, wouldn't you?"
>
> The skull frowned severely, wrinkling up its brow. "Why would I throw away more happiness than that of a king on a throne and take on the troubles of a human being again?" it said.[60]

Clearly, this *yuyan* states the Daoist belief that perfect happiness exists in limitless freedom, even if this freedom is found in death. With this *yuyan* as a mediating text, the skeleton becomes the signifier not only of tragic death, but also of perfect happiness as defined by Daoist discourse. "Ready to become a skeleton," therefore, suggests not simply the speaker's resolution to face death on the road, but, more important, the Daoist vision through which he sees life and death as well as the world.

As evident in this example, in Bashō's *kikōbun* the landscape is perceived through the eyes of a traveler in the *shōyōyū* spirit. More precisely, he presents the landscape through a carefully designed poetic vision that is tinted with Daoist color. The Daoist influence in this poetic vision can be seen more clearly in *Oi no kobumi,*[61] which begins with a peculiar self-portrait of the traveler: "In my body, which has one hundred bones and nine openings, exists something I have called Fūrabō. I must have meant that my body resembles spun silk that is easily torn in the wind."[62] The language of this passage deliberately avoids directness and clarity. The unusual images used to describe the speaker's physical body force the reader to determine their implications by searching for references. In fact, Bashō's peculiar description here, as has been pointed out repeatedly, is inspired by the following passage in the *Zhuangzi:* "The hundred joints, the nine openings, the six organs, all come together and exist here [as my body]. . . . It would seem as though there must be some True Lord among them. But whether I succeed in discovering his identity or not, it neither adds to nor detracts from his Truth."[63] In this intertextual context, Bashō's self-portrait becomes understandable: "the hundred bones and nine openings," though not the exact wording of the *Zhuangzi,* serves as a mediating text that calls for a retroactive reading. This mediating text reveals that Fūrabō is an indicator of the poet's true identity, just as is "True Lord" in the *Zhuangzi*. Fūrabō is a term coined by Bashō with three *kanji: fū,* wind; *ra,* thin silk; and *bō,* priest or boy.[64] Variously translated into "wind-swept spirit," "gauze-in-the-wind-priest," and "wind-blown-hermit,"[65] Fūrabō is a creature that is easily broken, that is devoid of worldly values, and that willingly submits to nature's force, the wind. This image shares the qualities of the plantain tree *(bashō),* another metaphorical image Bashō uses to identify himself. Both are beautiful and fragile.

Exaltation of ephemeral beauty had been a prominent feature of Japanese aesthetics long before Bashō. However, unlike the conventional treatment that stresses the hopelessness of delicate creatures in the face of transience, Bashō highlights their total acceptance of nature's

workings and their ease amid the constant changes of nature. This ultimate ease that transcends time and outer forms in the constant changes of the universe is the essence of the spirit of *shōyōyū,* and the traveler modeled upon the carefree wanderer is the poetic identity Bashō projects for himself. It needs to be noted that Bashō's *kikōbun* inherits not only Daoist ideas; names of great Japanese travel poets, particularly Saigyō and Sōgi, are mentioned in his travel records frequently. While clearly aware of the Japanese *kikōbun* tradition that framed his *haikai kikōbun,* Bashō worked hard to break established conventions in order to create a new style. He writes in *Oi no kobumi:*

> Speaking of the travel journal, great writers such as Lord Ki no Tsurayuki, Chōmei, and the Nun Abutsu[66] brought this genre to its apogee. Later travel journals are by and large little more than imitations of the great masters, and none is able to change the conventions. Shallow-brained and talentless, much less could I make new contributions. It would be easy to write, for example, that such and such a day was rainy in the morning but turned sunny in the afternoon, that there was a pine tree at a certain place, or that there was a river called such and such at a certain place. Records like this, of course, are not worth mentioning unless they present the uniqueness of Huang Tingjian and the novelty of Su Dongpo. Yet, views of the landscape at different places remained in my mind, and the touching impression of places, such as a house in the mountains, or an inn at a remote province, provided the seeds of words. I decided to jot down randomly the unforgettable places, with a hope that they might record traces of messages from the winds and clouds. My words are like the reckless words of the intoxicated, and therefore the audience should take them as no more than the rambling talk of the dreaming and should listen to them recklessly.[67]

Facing the challenge that *haikai* needed to demonstrate its newness in contrast to the existing *kikōbun* tradition, Bashō approached the established genre from a *haikai*-esque perspective. "Reckless words" and "listen to them recklessly," the expressions with which he describes his writing and how it must be appreciated, are both drawn from the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi.*[68] These Chinese words not only serve as *haigon* to transform the existing travel journal that relies primarily on the classical poetic diction into a new *haikai* narrative, but also introduce, through their intertexual association with the Daoist classic, an iconoclastic attitude that distinguishes *haikai kikōbun* from the melancholy tone of earlier travel journals. Through the eyes and voice of the carefree

wanderer, Bashō reinvented the classical significances of the landscape in the light of *zōka,* or the spontaneous formation and transformation of cosmos.

Zōka and the Landscape Reenvisioned

As seen in Bashō's discussion of *kikōbun* in *Oi no kobumi,* commemoration of beautiful landscape views and intimacy with nature have been the central themes of Japanese travel journals since the earliest travel diaries. Bashō's travel accounts continued this thematic emphasis, but his perception and depiction of the landscape are deeply influenced by Daoist concepts, namely, *zaohua* (J. *zōka,* create and transform) and *ziran* (J. *shizen* or *ji'nen,* natural and spontaneous). In fact, Bashō uses the term *"zōka"* not only when depicting the landscape but also when discussing artistic creativity. *Oi no kobumi* contains the following statement:

> In the *waka* of Saigyō, the *renga* of Sōgi, the paintings of Sesshū, and the tea ceremony of Rikyū, the fundamental principle is the same. Those who pursue art follow *zōka* and have the four seasons as their companion. Nothing they see is not a flower and nothing they imagine is not the moon. If one sees no flower, he is the same as a barbarian; if one has no moon in mind, he is no different from the birds and the beasts. Go beyond the barbarians and depart from animals; follow *zōka* and return to *zōka.*[69]

The origin of *zōka* in Bashō's works has received different explanations. While some Japanese scholars note its deep roots in Chinese sources, especially Daoist texts, others interpret it as an autonomous expression that refers to nature in general.[70] The annotations of the *Kōhon Bashō zenshū*, for example, give the following explanation of the term in the passage above:

> *[Zōka]* is the creation and transformation of Heaven and earth and all things; it also is the agent that creates and transforms Heaven and earth and all things. "Laozi says: 'What *zaohua (zōka)* initiates and what *yin* and *yang* transform are what we call 'life' and 'death'" (*Liezi*). But Bashō uses the word to refer to heaven and earth—nature.[71]

These interpretations seem to have been generally accepted by Western researchers, and the existing English translations of the passage have often translated *zōka* as "nature."[72] However, as Konishi Jin'ichi

points out, the concept of nature in the meaning of the external world did not exist in Japan until the Meiji period.[73] It is very unlikely that Bashō used *zōka* to refer to "nature" in this sense. The word used to mean "nature," *shizen,* in modern Japanese also appears in Bashō's writings, but it means "natural" and "spontaneous" rather than "nature" as the external world. Bashō's use of this word relates in many important ways to his concept of *zōka,* and both *"shizen"* and *"zōka"* in his writings show deep relations with the terms in Daoist texts. Although elsewhere in Bashō's writings the term *"zōka"* often is found in his depiction of scenic beauty, he seems to distinguish it from the phenomenal world. In *Oi no kobumi,* for example, he uses *zōka* again when describing what he saw on his journey. The passage reads: "I saw the masterwork of *zōka* in the beautiful scenes of mountains, fields and the coast, and following the footprints of devoted travelers who are free of worldly concerns, I came to know the way of a true artist."[74] Here *zōka* is not the beautiful landscape per se but what has brought it into being. The same usage of the term is found in the following short *haibun* Bashō wrote on his journey to the remote north in 1689.

> The singular peaks and grotesque mountains vie with each other in their shapes, forming a hair-like dark line and a glimpse of faint green as in a painting. The sounds of the water, the singing of birds, and the green of pines and cedars are extremely exquisite—the beautiful scene demonstrates the perfection of artistry. How could one not feel joyous for the great accomplishment of *zōka!*[75]

In this passage, the landscape is compared to a masterpiece of art, and *zōka* is its brilliant designer. Although these excerpts do not define precisely what *zōka* is, it is clear that the term does not mean simply "nature."

As discussed in the first chapter of this book, *zaohua* is used frequently in the *Zhuangzi* and encompasses several key notions of Daoist thought. To repeat briefly, *zaohua* first of all refers to the working of the *Dao,* the Way of the cosmos. Furthermore, *zaohua* is the single dominating force in the universe that creates and transforms all beings. The Song annotator Lin Xiyi, whose vernacular explanation of the *Zhuangzi* is the primary text from which Bashō learned the Daoist ideas, emphasizes its importance in the Daoist classic with the following explanations:

> [The *Zhuangzi:*] Heaven and earth are great, but the way they change is the same. The ten thousand things are numerous, but their ruler is one.

> [Lin Xiyi annotates:] "The way they change is the same" refers to their primal breath. "Ruler" refers to the "dominating force." The ten thousand things are myriad, but there is only one dominating force—*zaohua*.[76]
>
> [The *Zhuangzi:*] Be content with what you are given and go along with the changes; you will be able to enter the oneness of the boundless Heaven.
>
> [Lin Xiyi annotates:] Being content with what one is given and following *zaohua,* one can enter the wonder of *zaohua.* "The oneness of the boundless Heaven" means nothing else but *zaohua.*[77]

These excerpts indicate that *zaohua* is not a personal deity, but an infinite power, a movement that is unconscious and purposeless but in conformity with the law of the cosmos. The *Zhuangzi* articulates that, by joining with *zaohua,* one can attain ultimate freedom and perfection. Therefore, it depicts "following *zaohua*" as a magnificent state and glorifies this state with the beautiful celestial images and four seasons:

> A man like this rides the clouds and mist, straddles the sun and moon, and wanders beyond the four seas. Even life and death have no effect on him, much less the rules of profit and loss![78]
>
> He is chilly like autumn, balmy like spring, and his joy and anger prevail through the four seasons.[79]
>
> The sage seeks out the beauties of Heaven and earth and masters the principles of the ten thousand things.[80]

These passages show conspicuous similarity to the images and ideas in the opening statement of Bashō's *Oi no kobumi.* Like the Daoist sage who has joined with heaven and earth, the traveler Fūrabō wanders on a *haikai* journey beyond worldly concerns, joins himself with nature's forces, and harmonizes with the four seasons. To the Fūrabō, or the poetic self of Bashō, "following *zōka*" in the physical sense is to discover and appreciate the masterwork of *zōka,* and through doing so to understand the way of a true artist.

From the journey commemorated in *Oi no kobumi,*[81] the exploration and depiction of the immeasurable power of *zōka* and the magnificent beauty of its creation are central themes of Bashō's travel journals. In Bashō's portrayal of the landscape, Saigyō's journeys and his poetic depictions of the landscape were no doubt among his major inspirations. Bashō's presentation of the landscape, however, is distinctively different from Saigyō's. The aesthete-travel genre in Japan before Bashō had been associated with religious traditions. As in the case of Saigyō, the major travel poets

were mostly Buddhist priests, the themes and images were imparted with Buddhist significance, and retreating to nature more often than not was presented as a way toward religious salvation or enlightenment. Saigyō's nature poems, for example, express an unavoidable conflict between his religious commitment to renounce the phenomenal world and his love of scenic beauty. This conflict is stated explicitly in the following poem:

Why is a heart
attached to cherry blossoms
still in this body
which, I thought,
had forsaken the world?
hana ni somu/kokoro no ikade/nokorikemu/sutehateteki to/omou waga mini[82]

The conflict Saigyō felt came from the fundamental contradiction between religious asceticism and the poet's involuntary aesthetic sensibility. This kind of conflict is not found in Bashō's poetry. Bashō joyfully sees the beauty of the landscape as the marvelous work of *zōka* and emphasizes that following *zōka*—constantly immersing oneself in the embrace of nature, appreciating its beauty, and following its course—is the essential way to maintain aesthetic sensibilities. From this basic position, Bashō found nothing he saw was not a flower and nothing he imagined was not the moon.

In *Oku no hosomichi,* the best known of Bashō's travel accounts, exploration of the wonder of *zōka* is a keynote. Many poems in the *kikōbun* contain a place-name or focus on a scenic site, creating an impression that the salutation to the landscape is one of the major preoccupations of the traveler-poet. The following poems, for instance, were dedicated to the Three Holy Mountains: Mount Haguro, Mount Gassan, and Mount Yudono.

How very cool!
The faint crescent moon
above Mount Haguro.
suzushisa ya/hono mikazuki no/Haguro-yama

Peaks of clouds—
how many of them have collapsed
before the Moon Mountain?[83]
kumo no mine/ikutsu kuzurete/tsuki no yama

Unable to speak
of Yudono's wonders, my sleeves
are drenched with tears.
katararenu/Yudono ni nurasu/tamoto kana[84]

The use of celestial images, the moon and the clouds, in the first two poems effectively portrays the lofty appearances of the holy mountains. While these two poems have attracted a great deal of praise, the third one has not received as much critical attention. This might have to do with the lack of depiction of scenic beauty in the third verse. Traditionally, in Japanese literary travel journals a poet offers a poem to praise the famous scenic site, making allusions or references to the classical poems composed at the same place. Bashō seems to have felt it necessary to make an excuse for his not devoting a verse to the famous scenery. He writes: "it was forbidden by the rules for mountain pilgrims to reveal what one saw on Mount Yudono, so I put my brush aside."[85] This explanation may well be true, but, as seen in the other two poems, the poet's depiction of the other mountains really does not reveal anything specific about the landscape.

In fact, Bashō often avoids writing a poem at the most famous sites in his travel accounts. *Oi no kobumi* tells us that at Yoshino, known for the most beautiful views of cherry blossoms in Japan, the poet "was unable to find proper language to compose a poem, hence, kept silent."[86] In *Oku no hosomichi,* Bashō avoids writing a poem on Matsushima, though he praises it as "the most beautiful place in Japan." He writes: "Matsushima must have been made by the Mountain God in the distant past when the deities created the world. Who could capture this heavenly work of *zōka* with his brush and words?"[87] This passage reveals that Bashō's silence before such a magnificent landscape is intended to demonstrate the inadequacy of language in comparison with the creation of *zōka*. It also implies an aesthetic belief that overtones of silence are more powerful than insufficient language—a belief that is repeatedly stressed by the *Zhuangzi:* "The Great Way is not named; Great Discriminations are not spoken[.]"[88] "Heaven and earth have their great beauties but do not speak of them; the four seasons have their clear-marked regularity but do not discuss it; the ten thousand things have their principles of growth but do not expound them. The sage seeks out the beauties of Heaven and earth and masters the principles of the ten thousand things."[89] Bashō's treatment of Mount Fuji demonstrates this aesthetic belief most clearly. His famous poem on the subject describes how he was unable to see the peak of the famous mountain:

It was raining the day when I crossed the Barrier, and all the mountains were concealed in clouds.

> The misty rain—
> the day unable to see Fuji
> leaves great charm.
> *kirishigure/Fuji o minu hi zo/omoshiroki*[90]

This poem reminds us of Yoshida Kenkō's classical comments on aesthetic sensibility, in which he asserts that "to long for the moon while looking on the rain, to lower the blinds and be unaware of the passing of the spring—these are even more deeply moving"[91] than seeing a beautiful site directly. Echoing the classical aesthetic tradition that values indirectness and overtone, Bashō's verse on Fuji is no doubt a superb poem. However, a eulogy on Fuji by Bashō, probably written around the same time, tells us the real reason he does not provide a direct portrait on the grandeur of the holy mountain:

On Mount Fuji

I heard that Mount Kunlun is in a distant country, and Penglai and Fangzhang are places where immortals live. Here, before my eyes, Mount Fuji stands steeply above the earth, towering into the vast sky. As if the mountain were opening its cloud gates to welcome the sun and the moon, wherever I turn, I see its magnificent face, and its beautiful appearances change in myriad ways. [Facing Fuji,] poets could not produce a fitting verse, talented writers would be out of words, and artists could only put down their painting brushes. People say that there is a Holy Man living on faraway Gushe Mountain. I wonder if he could compose a poem or draw a picture of Mount Fuji.

> Amid cloudy mists,
> in a second its view has changed
> one hundred times.
> *kumokiri no/zanji hyakkei o/tsukushikeri*[92]

In the *waka* tradition, the poetic *hon'i* of Mount Fuji lies in its lofty peak covered by white snow. The following *waka* from *Ogura hyakunin isshu* (The Ogura sequence of one hundred poems by one hundred poets)[93] is a typical example:

At Tago Bay
I came out, and looked afar—
to see the hemp-white

> of Mount Fuji's lofty peak
> under a flurry of snow.
> *tago no ura/uchiidete mireba/shirotae no/Fuji no takane ni/yuki wa furitsutsu*[94]

Bashō's poem, however, gives no attention to the classical essence of Mount Fuji defined by the *waka* tradition, although he does mention the peak in the short *haibun* that precedes the poem. Even in his *haibun,* the depiction of the geographical features of Mount Fuji is minimized, mystified, and projected through the poet's imagination of famous Daoist sites—Kunlun, Penglai, Fangzhang, and Gushe. Mount Kunlun is at the center of the Kunlun mountain range, which is located at the border of today's Xizang and Xinjiang provinces in China. Chinese mythology has it that Mount Kunlun is the pivot of the universe, where lives the Queen Mother of the West, an immortal figure who appears in many Daoist legends. In the *Zhuangzi,* Kunlun is described as a place where those who have attained the *Dao* and achieved immortality live.[95] Penglai and Fangzhang are also holy sites in Daoist mythology and are believed to be places where immortals dwell. "The Holy Man living on Gushe Mountain" appears in the "Xiaoyaoyou" chapter of the *Zhuangzi.* The original passage reads:

> There is a Holy Man living on faraway Gushe Mountain, with skin like ice or snow, and gentle and shy like a young girl. He doesn't eat the five grains, but sucks the wind, drinks the dew, climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and wanders beyond the four seas. By concentrating his spirit, he can protect creatures from sickness and plague and make the harvest plentiful.[96]

The juxtaposition of Mount Fuji and the Daoist toponyms presents a symbolic landscape carefully designed: the appearances and definitions of the geographical space have changed as the visitor reimagines it through a Daoist perspective. Mount Fuji is no longer simply a place of physical grandeur; it has become an aesthetic landscape whose wonder manifests the power of *zōka*. In this context, Bashō's avoidance of portraying Mount Fuji reveals his aesthetic belief that the creation of *zōka* is so magnificent that no language can properly describe it.

The Aesthetic Landscape and Being One with *Zōka*

As is evident in his *kikōbun* cited above, the identity of the speaker in Bashō's landscape poems is usually omitted though the speaker's

voice is unmistakably present, evoking debates on whether Bashō's nature poems are impersonal. This controversial quality, however, can be explained by his aesthetic belief in following *zōka* and returning to *zōka:* when portraying the landscape, the identity of the poet is not absent, but has merged into the entity of nature; the poet's voice is there, yet conveyed through harmony with the work of *zōka.* The following poem from *Oku no hosomichi* is a good example of the amalgamation of the speaker's poetic self with the creation of *zōka:*

> How tranquil it is!
> Penetrating into the rocks
> the sound of cicadas.
> *shizukasa ya/iwa ni shimiiru/semi no koe*[97]

This poem appears to be strictly about nature: no trace of man is found in the tableau to disturb the profound tranquility of the universe. Yet there is obviously a beholder, through whose senses the eternal tranquility is observed, internalized, and expressed. The opening phrase, in particular, conveys the beholder's admiration of the landscape with an emphatic cutting word *(kireji) "ya." "Shizukasa ya"* is derived from *shizuka,* an adjective that means quiet, still, or tranquil. The word is commonly written with a *kanji* character whose Chinese-origin reading is *"sei,"* but in this verse Bashō uses a different *kanji* whose Chinese-origin reading is *"kan,"* meaning "leisure" or "idle." The implications of the latter *kanji,* as we have seen earlier, are highly valued by Daoist thinkers, and Bashō's choice is not a coincidence. Textual studies show that this poem has gone through careful revisions. The original draft recorded in *Sora zuikō nikki* (Travel with the master: Sora's journal) reads:

> A mountain temple—
> seeping into the stones,
> the sound of cicadas.
> *yamadera ya/ishi ni shimitsuku/semi no koe*[98]

This version seems to be more "impersonal." Comparing this verse with the earlier one, it is clear that the revision was more intended to convey the poet's perception of the stillness of the landscape, as Bashō describes in the prose preceding the poem: "Wandering along the coast, climbing the rocky mountains, and visiting Buddhist temples—the profound tranquility of the beautiful landscape penetrated deeply into my heart."[99] By carefully choosing a *kanji* whose connotations are celebrated in the Dao-

ist texts to transliterate the word *"shizukasa,"* Bashō expresses simultaneously the tranquility of the external world and the carefree serenity of the speaker's mind, presenting not only a picture of the landscape but also an aesthetic evaluation of it, one informed by Daoist discourse. This aesthetic landscape embodies the beholder's attitude toward the world, and it is in this landscape that the poetic self merges into *zōka*.

It is worth noting that, besides the two drafts cited above, the cicada poem has another version that opens with a different word, *"sabishisa"* rather than *"shizukasa."*

How solitary it is!
Permeating into the rocks—
the sound of cicadas.
sabishisa ya/iwa ni shimikomu/semi no koe[100]

"Sabishisa," a word derived from the adjective *"sabishi,"* conventionally implies loneliness in Japanese literature. Bashō, however, often uses the word in close relationship with *"shizuka."* The following poem, which contains the word *"shizukasa,"* also has a different draft that uses the *kanji* normally used to transliterate *"sabishisa."*

How quiet it is!
On the wall where the painting hangs—
a cricket.
shizukasa ya/e kakaru kabe no/kirigirisu[101]

How solitary it is!
Hanging on a nail—
a cricket.
sabishisa ya/kugi ni kaketaru/kirigirisu[102]

"Cricket" *(kirigirisu)* is a seasonal word of autumn. It typically is associated with loneliness and autumn melancholy in classical Japanese poetry. The *hon'i* or poetic essence of *kirigirisu*, according to classical tradition, lies in the faint sound of its singing. Bashō's verses, however, focus on neither the song of the cricket nor the melancholy atmosphere evoked by it. According to Kukū, one of Bashō's disciples for whom these poems were written, he was with Bashō at a small cottage when the first poem was composed. The master woke him up one night to listen to the feeble chirps of a cricket. Later, when Kukū asked for a poem on his painting of Kenkō, Bashō wrote the poems. If this story is true, the

cricket did sing that night. The silence of the cricket in Bashō's poem, therefore, is not a depiction of the real occurrence but an intentional fabrication. Instead of following the conventional *hon'i,* Bashō cast the little creature against a background of eternal, profound silence, creating a suggestive scene of the seclusion included in tranquility.

In discussing the two pairs of Bashō's poems that use *"shizukasa"* and *"sabishisa,"* Makoto Ueda observes: "Certainly it is more than a coincidence that the word 'quietness' is used in place of 'loneliness' in both poems. Bashō conceived loneliness to be very close to quietness."[103] Indeed, in Bashō's poetry *"shizukasa"* and *"sabishisa"*[104] often designate an existential state in which one's inner serenity and the fundamental silence of the external world merge, a state close to the ontological solitude and silence defined in the *Zhuangzi:* "Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction—these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue."[105] Haruo Shirane notes that "the submerged emotion or sentiment in Bashō's landscape poetry sometimes takes the form of what is referred to as *sabi,* in which the landscape—such as that in the famous frog poem—is infused with the sentiment of quiet loneliness *(sabishisa),* a negative term that implicitly takes on positive value."[106] The transformation of the negative term *"sabishisa"* into a positive value in Bashō's poetry owes much to his reconceptualizing the sentiment of loneliness through the Daoist discourse. In fact, *sabishisa* in Bashō's poems is often not a landscape infused with the sentiment of loneliness, but the fundamental tranquility found in the harmonious fusion of the external world and the poetic mind. Bashō consciously combines the traditional Japanese aesthetic of loneliness *(sabi)* with the aesthetic of idleness and inaction, and he terms this reconceptualized aesthetic ideal *kanjaku,* a compound word that is written with the *kanji "kan"* (leisure or idle) and *"jaku"* (lonely or still). In his later works, Bashō declares that *kanjaku* is the state in which "one's mind should stay."[107] Actually, *kanjaku* as a basic tone became evident in Bashō's poetry much earlier. From around the time of his first poetic journey, his poems already show the tone of *kanjaku.* The following poem from *Nozarashi kikō* skillfully captures the atmosphere of profound solitude and silence.

> The sea darkens:
> the voices of wild ducks
> are faintly white.
> *umi kurete/kamo no koe/honokani shiroshi*[108]

This poem, with its 5/5/7 syllabic irregularity, has been widely praised for its extraordinary depiction of the seascape: as darkness begins to permeate the sea, the faint cry of wild ducks fades into the infinite silence; it deepens the stillness, like a piece of whiteness heightens the darkness of the sea. In this poem, the auditory image, "the voices of wild ducks," is described with a visual term, "white." This "transference of the senses"[109] has invited numerous comments. Some readers believe that with "whiteness" Bashō really is not describing sound but something else—the waves, the sea, the vapor over the sea, the color of wild ducks, and so forth. Others maintain that "whiteness" does indeed depict "the voices," and this deliberate confusion of senses is a superb rhetorical technique.[110] The "transference of the senses" as a rhetorical device is a familiar element in Japanese poetry. Konishi traces it to "synaesthesia" in classical Japanese poetry and the method of "conceit" derived from the Zhuangzi-style *gūgen* in earlier *haikai*.[111] The method also has been employed in many of Bashō's famous poems. In his discussion of this subject, Donald Keene includes two more examples:

> Whiter, whiter
> Than the stones of Stone Mountain—
> This autumn wind.
> *Ishi-yama no/ishi yori shiroshi/aki no kaze*[112]

> The scent of chrysanthemums—
> In Nara all the ancient
> Statues of Buddha.
> *kiku no ka ya/ Nara ni wa furuki/hotoketachi*[113]

The first poem was written in 1689, when Bashō visited Nata Temple in Komatsu. The temple was built on a hill of white stones. The visual image "white" in this poem, however, is used not only to praise the pure whiteness of the stones, but also the purity of autumn wind. The second poem was written at Nara in 1694, on the day of the chrysanthemum festival. The poet captures two images representative of the time and the place—the chrysanthemums and the statues of Buddha—and lets the musty fragrance of the flowers and the sight of the statues fuse into and highlight each other, projecting the elegance and nobility of the ancient capital. While both verses depict autumn scenes at Buddhist temples, the brilliant uses of the "transference of the senses" create two unforgettably unique worlds.[114]

Bashō's treatment of "the voices of wild ducks" employs the same device. The poet would not have had to go to the trouble of breaking the 5/7/5 syllabic rule if he had intended to use "whiteness" to describe the sea, the wild ducks, or any visual images. He simply could have placed the second line after the third line, the poem would have been perfectly regular, and the word "white" would have grammatically described the sea or the color of the wild ducks. As seen in the verse above, when "transference of the senses" occurs, the original significances of relevant images are transferred, transformed, and greatly expanded at the same time. By using transference of the senses Bashō deliberately dispensed with the regular *hokku* format as well as with conventional readers' expectations in order to convey a certain significance. And the intended significance, as Konishi points out, is the tone of *kanjaku,*[115] the profound stillness perceived through a mental state of idleness or emptiness.

In the *Zhuangzi,* the fundamental emptiness and stillness are also often associated with and described by "whiteness." The *Zhuangzi* says: "Look into that closed room, the empty chamber where brightness [literally, whiteness] is born! Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness."[116] About this passage, Lin Xiyi explains:

> *Zhan* means to "look." The *Zhuangzi* uses the "empty chamber" as an emblem of "mind." . . . "That closed room" is a metaphor of the emptiness of the self. Be empty, then brightness is naturally born in emptiness. The phrase, "whiteness is born," means "brightness is born." But, instead of saying "brightness," the *Zhuangzi* says "whiteness"—this is a distinctive characteristic of Zhuangzi's writing. Where there are emptiness and brightness is the origin of ten thousand things. Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness. "Stillness" is also the "emptiness." Only when it is still, can it be empty; only when it is empty, can it be bright.[117]

The *Zhuangzi* uses "whiteness" to represent the attainment of *Dao,* a state that is born in emptiness and stillness, in which fortune and blessing gather. Lin further elaborates that the "whiteness" is "brightness," and "brightness" is born in a mental state of stillness and emptiness. He emphasizes particularly that the transference of the image "whiteness" to "brightness" is a distinctive feature of Zhuangzi's writing. Although it may be arbitrary to conclude that the transference of the senses in the wild duck poem is inspired directly by the passages in the *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi,* it is elucidating to read these passages as comparable references. Read in conjunction with the *Zhuangzi,* the image "white" in

Bashō's poem conveys a similar state; it is the poetic figuration of the primal emptiness and stillness the poet perceives when hearing the faint voices of wild ducks fading into the boundless seascape. Through the transferred image, "whiteness," the poem powerfully creates a tone of *kanjaku*.

As seen in Bashō's travel accounts, the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* occupied an important place in the *haikai* landscape he created. His use of the *Zhuangzi,* however, was not simply for stylistic imitation or textual reference, but arose from a larger concern to reinvent existing literary conventions. By adapting the *Zhuangzi* to the context of *haikai* travel journals, Bashō successfully re-created the landscape defined by *waka* and *renga* poetry and opened a new horizon for the world of *haikai*.

Chapter 4

Bashō's *Fūryū* and Daoist Traits in Chinese Poetry

Oku no hosomichi, the best-known piece of Bashō's travel journal, contains the following passage:

> After having arrived at the post station of Sukagawa, I called upon a man named Tōkyū, who insisted that we stay at his house for a few days. He asked me how I had fared at the barrier of Shirakawa. I replied that I was unable to compose any poems. I had been totally exhausted from the long journey, partly because I had been overwhelmed by the scenic landscape and by nostalgic thoughts of the past. It would have been regrettable, however, to cross the barrier without writing a single verse, so I wrote:
>
> The beginning of *fūryū!*
> the rice-planting song
> in the remote north.
> *fūryū no/hajime ya/oku no taueuta*
>
> My verse is followed by a second and third verse, and we produced three linked-verse sequences.[1]

This poem, originally titled "On Crossing the Barrier at Shirakawa," was composed just after Bashō entered the remote northern area on his famous journey to the far north. It is the opening verse of a linked-verse sequence and serves as a salutatory greeting to the host, setting the keynote for the collaborative composition. In addition, the poem is an important announcement of Bashō's poetic quest. Before Bashō went on his trip in the spring of 1689, he had abandoned his plantain hut in Fukagawa. This action has been generally considered the marker of a new beginning in his career. The multiple functions of the verse invite different

interpretations of its meaning, particularly whether the first line refers specifically to the first poetic event the speaker has encountered in the remote northern area or broadly to poetry and all arts.[2] While the existing English translations of the poem have been relatively concurrent in translating the term as "poetry" or "the poetic," Ebara Taizō and other Japanese scholars interpret it as the aesthetic or artistic experience the speaker had when he stepped into the unexplored area on his journey.[3] Some early Japanese scholarship has also suggested that the term *fūryū* here means the musical performance *furyū,*[4] but this point of view is not widely accepted, as no solid evidence has been found that *furyū* evolved from rice-planting songs. Given its semantic complexities and compositional contexts, this poem in *Oku no hosomichi* poses intriguing questions to the reader. Either as praise of the host's homeland or as an announcement of the speaker's poetic quest, the poem has assumed a natural relationship between poetic quality and the rice-planting song in a rustic area. This relationship, however, was not established by the orthodox *waka* and *renga* traditions. A question naturally arises as to what kind of poetry or poetic quality Bashō's *fūryū* relates and designates.

Fūryū in Bashō's Works

Fūryū is an important aesthetic concept in traditional Japanese culture, but the precise meaning of the term has been a complicated issue. It derives from the Chinese word *fengliu.* Literally meaning "wind flowing (blowing)," *fengliu* in Chinese texts has multiple implications. It has been used as a metaphor for the unpredictability of human existence, a word for the popular customs and mores of a society, a term for exceptional literary styles, and a description of elegant but unconventional behavior and aesthetic taste inspired by Daoist teaching and Buddhist thought. In some texts it also is used to mean the heightened appreciation and expression of sensual-aesthetic experiences and sensibilities, or to imply an amorous, flamboyant quality.[5] By the Song dynasty (960–1279), all the meanings associated with *fengliu* already were being commonly used in Chinese texts.

Along with the introduction of Chinese texts into Japan over the centuries, the multiple meanings of *fengliu/fūryū* blended with native Japanese thoughts and the definition of the term in Japanese became even more difficult to pinpoint. According to Okazaki Yoshie's comprehensive survey of its multiple usages in Japanese texts, the earliest Japanese text that contains the word *fūryū* is *Manyōshū,* in which the term is given

phonetic transcriptions in a native Japanese reading, *miyabi,* meaning "elegant" or "unworldly refinement."[6] However, other early Japanese texts, particularly Buddhist didactic literature such as *Nihon ryōiki* (Record of spirits and miracles in Japan, ca. 823), give *fūryū* a different reading, *misao,* which means "virtuousness" or "integrity."[7] In the later Heian texts, such as *Bunkyō hifuron* (Mirrors of literature: Treatises of the secret treasury, 819–820), *Honchō monzui* (The best writings of Japan, ca. 1058–1064), and the prefaces of imperial poetic anthologies, *fūryū* is written mostly in Chinese. Therefore it is hard to tell how the term is read in Japanese. But the contexts in which *fūryū* appears suggest that the term in these works primarily refers to *bunga* (C. *wenya*), the elegance of letters, and sometimes also to the wonder of scenic beauty.[8]

From the late Heian to the early Kamakura period, *fūryū* was increasingly used to describe the sensuous, showy beauty of artificial objects and folk art, as evidenced by the accounts of festivals *(matsuri)* and matching contests *(monoawase)* popular at the time. The latter meaning was widely used in medieval Japan, and *fūryū* in that vein became the synonym of *basara* and *kasa,* both suggesting flamboyant, somewhat flashy, beauty. During this period, another usage of *fūryū* advocated by Chinese literati—*fūryū* as the transcendence of the mundane world and the love of nature—also found its way into Japan.[9] This latter trend was typically seen in the Five Mountains (Gozan) Zen poetry and tea ceremony of late medieval and early modern Japan. In the tea ceremony, the term was associated with *suki* (devotion to an art or pleasure), "advocating an eremitic withdrawal from the world, and devotion to simple pleasures."[10] In addition, *fūryū* was used to describe musical performances in medieval Japan, at first referring to the florid costumes and decorations, and then also to the florid style of the music and performance.[11] At the same time, *fūryū* in *nō* theories suggested the classical tradition of elegant beauty similar to *miyabi,* presenting a contrast to the popular taste for *basara* at the time.[12]

Fūryū in *haikai* often has been discussed in conjunction with *fūga* (elegance of literature). It has been noted that in *haikai* poetics, *fūga* is used to refer to the art of *haikai* specifically, whereas *fūryū* has a much broader meaning and refers to something more fundamental.[13] Okazaki observes that in Bashō's works *fūga* refers to literature, especially *haikai* and the *haikai* spirit, while *fūryū* gives *fūga* its poetic quality.[14] *Fūryū* in Edo period popular fiction often implies an amorous, even erotic, quality, but this contemporary trend shows no influence in Bashō's concept of *fūryū.* In a more recent study on the concepts of *fūryū* in Japanese cul-

ture, Fujiwara Shigekazu draws examples from Bashō to portray *fūryū* as "the poetics of relations," which he describes as an emancipated mentality in relating to people, society, nature, and oneself.[15]

While the significant presence of *fūryū* in Bashō's poetry has been repeatedly noted, Bashō's use of the term remains obscure. As we have seen, under the same rubric of *fengliu/fūryū* multiple, and sometimes seemingly opposite, meanings and trends have evolved. In order to understand Bashō's *fūryū,* it is essential to discern which of them he adapted into his poetics. While Bashō's *fūryū* absorbed some elements of the *fūryū* aesthetics in the Japanese tradition, his was also different from that of his Japanese forerunners. It was through his awareness of the correspondence between Daoist spirit and the Wei-Jin *fengliu* in Chinese literature that Bashō grasped a *fengliu/fūryū* aesthetic that placed great emphasis on transcending the worldly by being eccentric and unconventional.

Like *fūga, fūryū* is one of many Chinese-origin words Bashō uses frequently in his work. In "Sansei zu san" (Eulogy on the painting of the Three Sages), a short *haibun* piece written in his later years, he writes: "A person who puts his whole heart into *fūryū* and harmonizes himself with the four seasons would find the things worthy of verse as inexhaustible as the grains of sand on the beach."[16] In this passage, *fūryū* seems to refer to poetry in general and is almost interchangeable with *fūga.* More often, however, Bashō uses *fūryū* to describe a quality or taste that is closely associated with the life and spirit of a recluse/wayfarer. In *Oku no hosomichi,* for example, Bashō writes about his visit to a painter at Sendai. He tells us that when the time came for him to leave, the painter gave him some drawings and two pairs of straw sandals with their laces dyed deep blue. Bashō comments on the sandals: "It was with the last gifts that he demonstrated most clearly his character as a connoisseur of *fūryū.*"[17] It is noteworthy here that the poet does not pay much attention to the beautiful drawings of famous landscapes, but rather stresses the artist's taste of *fūryū* as demonstrated in the sandals he gave to the traveler, objects that are often associated with rusticity and a wayfarer's life.

The interesting example above reveals that the taste and lifestyle of a recluse/traveler was a basic element of Bashō's *fūryū.* Once, when commenting on a verse by one of his disciples, "Traces of humbleness/are enclosed within/the thatched hut door," Bashō said: "This verse is not particularly novel. But, because it is about the thatched hut and a recluse, it contains certain *fūryū.*"[18] Bashō did not give any further explanation of his judgment. Apparently, it had become an established criterion in his school that celebrating the recluse tradition was *fūryū.*

Of the elements that typically reflect the recluse tradition, Bashō and his disciples seem to have particularly valued qualities such as rusticity, humbleness, and deliberate eccentricity and unconventionality. These elements, whether presented together or individually in the writings of the Shōmon School, assert a *fūryū* aesthetic distinctively different from *fūryū* as an aristocratic penchant for romance and refinement in Heian literature. Rice planting, for instance, is often associated with *fūryū* in the *haikai* composition of the Shōmon, as evidenced by Bashō's comment that "the *fūryū* of rice planting in a place like Minō or Ōmi is different from that of remote areas."[19] Here Bashō seems to assume that it is common knowledge among the Shōmon poets that rice planting, or the experience of encountering rice planting, is *fūryū*.

Closely related to its thematic emphasis on *fūkyō*, or poetic eccentricity, the Shōmon poetry also enthusiastically celebrates deliberate eccentricity and unconventionality as *fūryū*. Bashō's disciple Mukai Kyorai (1651–1704) wrote about how the master taught him to seek *fūryū* in eccentricity. Bashō's comments on the following poem recorded in *Kyorai shō* (Kyorai's notes, comp. 1704, published 1775) shed light on the association between his poetics of *fūkyō* and *fūryū:*

> The overhanging cliff—
> here comes another
> companion of the moon!
> *iwabana ya/koko ni mo hitori/tsuki no kyaku*

> When the late master came to the capital, Kyorai asked: "Shadō had suggested that I should change the last line to 'a monkey under the moon,' but I preferred 'companion.' What do you think?" The late master said: "What will 'a monkey' do here? Tell me how you have come up with the conception of the poem." Kyorai replied: "I was thinking that the speaker, enjoying the bright moonlight, wanders in mountains and fields while reciting poems. At that moment he saw another poet under the cliff." The late master said: "It would add more *fūryū* if you make 'here comes another companion of the moon' the poet's self-portrait, though this will make it a first-person poem.[20] I like this poem a lot, too, so I have included it in *Oi no kobumi*."[21] My taste at that time was still superficial, perhaps barely reaching the second or third class. However, through the reinterpretation of the late master, the poem took on the tone of an eccentric *(kyōsha)*.
>
> Later, when thinking about it again, I realized that by making the verse a first-person poem, it created an image of an eccentric, which

would be ten times better than the original conception. As the author of the poem, I didn't understand the spirit of eccentricity at the beginning.[22]

This passage reveals the criteria of the Shōmon School that valued *fūkyō* and *fūryū.* Kyorai's original conception of the poem focuses on the poetic sentiment of the speaker who, while indulging deeply in poetry and the beauty of the moonlit night, suddenly notices another person who also enjoys being alone as the companion of the moon. "The companion of the moon" humorously implies the loneliness of the recluse/traveler, creating an image at once lofty and comic. Although Kyorai's original conception was not bad, Bashō found it lacked eccentricity and hence suggested making the phrase "here is another companion of the moon" the speaker's self-identification. With Bashō's interpretation, the poet's utterance is no longer a monologue describing what he has just discovered, but a dialogue that speaks both spatially to the audience and temporally to the literary past. The use of "another" indicates that the speaker is aware of the existence of a literary tradition that magnifies the deliberate eccentricity of the recluse/traveler, and therefore he speaks of himself as *another* eccentric who is proud to be a lonely companion of the moon. It is striking that both Bashō and Kyorai considered eccentricity *fūryū,* to the degree of believing that by simply changing the persona to an eccentric, the poem would be ten times better than the original one.

Kyorai's notes show that the spirit of *kyō,* or eccentricity, is an essential element of *fūryū* in Bashō's poetics. As we saw in Chapter 3, eccentricity as a poetic quality was termed *fūkyō* by the Shōmon and was one of the thematic and aesthetic focuses of the school at its peak. Bashō's concept of *fūkyō* has drawn much scholarly attention, but thus far it has not been examined in conjunction with *fūryū*. Bashō's belief in a direct connection between the two, as seen in the following prose passage, is based on his knowledge of a long poetic tradition that has its deep roots in Daoist philosophy. The passage was written in the autumn of 1689 as an epilogue to a *haibun* by his friend Yamaguchi Sodō (1642–1716).

EPILOGUE TO "EXPOSITION ON THE BAGWORM"

One day, while dwelling in the desolation of my cottage, I wrote a verse. Touched by the verse, my friend Sodō inscribed a poem and a prose work to it. His lines are beautiful like brocade, and his words are gems. Reading his inscription, I see the artistry of "Encountering Sorrow."[23] It has the novelty of Su Shi and the ingenuity of Huang Tingjian. He mentions the filial piety of Shun and Zeng Shen at the beginning to let us learn from their virtue. He praises the incapability of the bagworm to

> remind us of the spirit of the *Zhuangzi.* He treasures tiny creatures like bagworms to teach us contentment with one's lot. He also draws upon the old stories of Lü Fang and Ziling to reveal the meaning of reclusion.[24] At the end, he jokes about the jade worm,[25] exhorting people not to indulge in love. Who else can know the heart of the bagworm so well as this old gentleman Sodō?! What he wrote can be described precisely by "In quiet contemplation, one finds all things have their own reasons for existence."[26] Indeed, in Sodō I see the meaning of this famous poem.
>
> Since ancient times, most people who deal with the writing brush pursue embellishments at the cost of content, or take content seriously but ignore *fūryū.* When reading Sodō's prose poem, one is attracted not only by its embellishment but, more significantly, by its essence.
>
> There is a gentleman named Chōko[27] in this area. Upon learning of Sodō's prose, he made a painting based on it. His painting is truly deep in feeling while light in color. Looking at the painting attentively, I feel as if the bagworm is moving and the yellow leaves are falling. Listening carefully, I feel I have heard the the autumn wind blowing gently and felt its coldness. I am very fortunate to have leisure in this hut of idleness and to have the profound friendship of the two gentlemen, like a bagworm that is bestowed glorifying honor.[28]

Sodō's "Exposition on the Bagworm" was written in response to a poem composed by Bashō in 1687: "Come and listen/to the voice of the bagworm—/the grass thatched hut" *(minomushi no/ne o kiki ni koyo/kusa no io).*[29] *Minomushi* (translated as "bagworm") is the larva of a moth in the family Psychidae. It dangles alone in its bag-shaped cocoon spun of silk and covered with weathered leaves, twigs, and other debris. Though in fact the bagworm makes no sound, the *minomushi* is portrayed by Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* (The pillow book, ca. 1000) as the abandoned child of demons, who, being told that its parents would return in autumn, calls for them faithfully when the autumn wind blows each year. In Japanese, *mino* also means "straw raincoat," which, along with *waraji* (straw sandals) and *kasa* (rain hat), is typically associated with the image of the recluse/traveler in Japanese literature. The eremitic implications of *minomushi* formed the thematic essence of Bashō's verse: as stated in a short note preceding the poem, by asking the audience to "listen to the quiet" bagworm, the poet invites the reader to join him in the tranquility of his eremitic world.

Based on Sei Shōnagon's depiction of the *minomushi,* Sodō makes an association between the bagworm and the filial piety of Shun in his prose work. Shun is one of the five ancient kings in Chinese legends. The

tradition has it that although mistreated by his father he served his parents dutifully.

Writing poems in response to each other's work was a common practice among poets in Bashō's time, and these exchanges became good sources for examining an author's views and aesthetic tastes. However, Bashō's taste, as indicated in the writings above, is not very clear at first glance. The beginning of the epilogue is not difficult to understand: Bashō praises the writing style of his friend by comparing his work to one of the masterpieces of Chinese poetry, "Encountering Sorrow," and to poems of the famous Song poets Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. The sentence "He mentions the filial piety of Shun at the beginning to let us learn from his virtue" is also self-explanatory, although it does not tell the reader that when mentioning Shun, Sodō is not merely teaching a lesson of filial piety. Sodō's prose mentions Shun in a phrase praising the bagworm: "You are Shun of insects." As the bagworm is an image Bashō uses more than once in his writings to portray himself, Sodō's words are more a compliment to Bashō, the author of the poem, than a moral lesson. By deliberately interpreting Sodō's words in a different way, Bashō shows his modesty.

When Bashō writes about how Sodō praises the bagworm for its "incapability" and for being "tiny," the implications become ambiguous. In effect, the essence of the poem lies in its central image, which has inspired Sodō's inscription, and "the spirit of the *Zhuangzi,*" with which the poet associates the bagworm. An image of Bashō's eccentric self-portrait, the bagworm also appears in "On the Unreal Dwelling": "My body, now close to fifty years of age, has become an old tree that bears bitter peaches, a snail which has lost its shell, a bagworm separated from its bag; it drifts with the winds and clouds that know no destination."[30]

Here, the intended metaphor, "bagworm," like several other metaphors used together with it, is a creature that is vulnerable, incapable, and useless according to established values. It also is an image that is forever solitary, drifting along with the force of nature. These qualities, as Bashō declares in the epilogue, reflect the spirit of the *Zhuangzi,* which problematizes existing values and conventions by laughing at the "talented" and "useful" and praising the "incapable" and "useless." It is based on this Daoist discourse that Bashō writes: "He praises the incapability of the bagworm to remind us of the spirit of the *Zhuangzi.*" The *Zhuangzi* asserts repeatedly that when one is not limited by conventional values, one can see that all things have their own reason for existence (C. *zide;* J. *jitoku*). This important idea of the *Zhuangzi* deeply influenced the Confu-

cian scholars of Song China. Bashō's citation in the epilogue, "In quiet contemplation, he finds all things have their own reason for existence," is from a poem by Cheng Hao, a vocal speaker of Song Confucianism.[31] However, rather than delving deeply into Song Confucian teachings, Bashō elaborates on his observation of the correspondence between the Daoist spirit and the *fūryū* tradition. He criticizes the writers who pursue embellishment at the cost of content or pay attention to the content but forget *fūryū,* implying that Sodō's work is a masterpiece of *fūryū*. It is particularly worth noting that when commenting on Sodō's writing, Bashō separates *fūryū* from content, implying an aesthetic tradition or taste that provides the essence of the contents. Bashō's praise of Sodō reveals his belief that the eccentricity and unconventionality of the recluse lifestyle is an essential element of *fūryū,* and that the quality of poetry depends ultimately on whether the work embodies this kind of *fūryū*.

As can be detected from Bashō's epilogue, both Bashō and Sodō drew heavily upon Chinese sources, especially the recluse tradition in Chinese literature, which deeply influenced their perspectives of *fūryū*. In Japanese literature, the assertion of eccentricity and unconventionality as *fūryū* in line with the Chinese *fengliu* tradition did not begin with Bashō. In medieval poetry by Buddhist priests, particularly the works of Ikkyū Sōjun, eccentricity was already a prominent element in the *fūryū* aesthetic.

Fūryū in Ikkyū's Poetry

Among the many advocates of the *fūryū* aesthetic, the fifteenth-century priest-poet Ikkyū Sōjun was one of the most enthusiastic. In the collection of his poetry *Kyōunshū* (Crazy clouds anthology) *fūryū* appears fifty-three times and is used in different ways, providing rich examples for examining the connotations of the polysemous term. Ikkyū's *fūryū* places fundamental emphasis on unconventionality, or transcending the worldly by being unconventional, a significance that had not been given much emphasis in the *fūryū* aesthetic in Japan before.

Growing up in Ankoku-ji, one of the ten secondary temples (Jissatsu) of the Five Mountains (Gozan) Zen monasteries, Ikkyū earned renown for both his talent in composing *kanshi* (poems written in Chinese) and his serious pursuit of the truth of Zen when he was still a teenager. Increasingly dissatisfied with the corruption of Gozan monasteries, Ikkyū fled Ankoku-ji to study under Ken'ō, an eccentric monk who had refused his own seal of transmission, the document certifying a Buddhist priest's

enlightenment. From the time when he was a young disciple of Ken'ō until he died as the abbot of Daitoku-ji temple in 1481, Ikkyū was an extremely serious priest who fiercely attacked anyone who was lacking in sincere Zen spirit. At the same time, he was also an eccentric monk who frequented brothels and bars, an unusual *kanshi* poet whose verses juxtaposed transcendental Zen experience with explicit descriptions of sexual love. Eccentric as he was, Ikkyū attracted the leading artists of all the major art forms of his time, including the *nō* dramatist Komparu Zenchiku (1405–ca. 1470), the *renga* master Sōchō (1448–1532), and the founder of the "grass hut" style of tea ceremony, Murata Shukō (1422–1502). To study Zen was no doubt one of the reasons for those visits to Ikkyū by the cultural elite; but Ikkyū's charisma had much to do with his eccentricity. As shown by his *Crazy Clouds Anthology,* Ikkyū was clearly aware of this and proudly proclaimed his eccentric ways as *fūryū*.

Fūryū in Ikkyū's poetry exhibits the deep influence of Chinese literature. While he often uses the term to designate *bunga* (C. *wenya,* the elegance of letters) in general, he places this topic in the context of a dark world and sighs over the loss of the elegance of letters in the degenerated times:

> In a dark world, today there is no mood for the ink and brush;
> Nor the mind of *fūryū,* how futile!
> Three lives reborn on this land, the poetry spirit suffers,
> As the "frost flowers," pounded ten thousand times,
>   on the east slope of Hua Ding.[32]
>
> (*Kyōunshū,* 840)

According to the preface to the poem, Ikkyū composed the lines when he lost an ink stick that he had treasured. Ikkyū was so upset about the loss that he fell increasingly ill. The preface describes the event: "Aah, in today's world, people are all crazy about treasures and wealth; to them an ink stick would be no more than a broken straw sandal. But I almost lost my life over a missing ink stick. I wonder if those who have many desires would feel a little shame when they heard this poem."[33]

Ikkyū lived during a time of frequent peasant rebellions and wars among various samurai clans. The ancient capital, Kyoto, was burnt and much of its cultural heritage and traditional values were lost. It is not surprising that disgust with the degeneration of the times is a prominent topic of Ikkyū's poetry. What is remarkable, however, is that Ikkyū, a priest who was supposed to have detached himself from all material things, loved "the ink and brush"—the symbols of *fūryū*—so dearly, and that he stressed it as

a remedy for the "dark world." Although *bunga/wenya* was received as an important part of Chinese literary tradition by the Gozan Zen writers, and many of them presented it in their writings as a refined taste, no one had used this concept for fierce social criticism as Ikkyū did in his poetry. In celebrating the elegance of letters, Ikkyū's *fūryū* went against the tide.

Ikkyū not only explicitly expresses his attachment to the *fūryū* of ink and brush, but also openly expresses his love of women, wine, even pederasty, and he describes these attachments also as *fūryū*.[34] *Fūryū* in his love poems often indicates delicate feminine beauty and erotic sensibility, qualities much valued by the *miyabi* aesthetic of the Heian period. However, even when suggesting amorous affairs and erotic desires, Ikkyū's *fūryū* does not imply just sexual encounters. In the following poem, for example, *fūryū* seems to mean sex, but implicitly it suggests something much deeper.

> Facing the Picture of Linji
> In the Linji school who carries the Authentic Transmission?
> The "Three Mysteries" and "Three Essentials" fell to the blind donkeys.
> Mukei, the old monk, gazes at the moon from a girl's chamber,
> Night after night indulging in *fūryū,* dead drunk.[35]
> (*Kyōunshū,* 495)

Alluding to Linji's (J. Rinzai's) words, "blind donkeys" refers to those who are ignorant of Buddhist truth,[36] and the "Three Mysteries" and "Three Essentials" are fundamentals of Linji's teachings.[37] Mukei, a nickname Ikkyū gave himself, literally means "Dream Chamber," which, according to the following writing by Ikkyū, parodies the names of three famous prelates:

> If one is thirsty, one will dream of water. If one is cold, one will dream of a fur robe; to dream of the bed chamber, that is my nature. In old times and recently, there have been three named "Dream"; that is, the reverends Musō "Dream Window," Musū "Dream High," and Mumu "No Dream." I recently took the name "Dream Chamber" and set it on a plaque over my study. Although that name treads in the footsteps of the other three "Dreams," it really does not match their affairs at all. While those three masters were men of a vigorous virtue and flourishing aspiration singled out by people, I am just an old madman down on my luck advertising what I like.[38]

Ikkyū's iconoclastic stance is clear in both this account and his poem. By naming himself "Dream Chamber," he deliberately gave a vulgar twist to

the names of the three famous "Dreams": the influential Zen prelates Musō Soseki (1275–1351), founder of Tenryū-ji temple and a politically involved figure; Musū Ryōshin (d. 1281), founder of the Reishū-ji; and Mumu Issei (1294–1368), a renowned Zen master of the Tōfuku-ji line. Throughout his career as a priest, Ikkyū was a nonconforming presence among the contemporary Zen communities that were highly secularized and, in many cases, politically involved and corrupt, and his poetry cast merciless criticism on the contemporary mores in the great Zen temples. In this light, while Ikkyū seems to be bringing the elegant Heian *fūryū* down to earth when he uses the term to imply stark sexual desire, he is in fact imparting a philosophical dimension to the amorous type of *fūryū* aesthetic. His message here is simple and profound: sexual desire is not turpitude; like the need for water and clothes, it is part of the original nature of human beings and hence purer than hypocritical institutions and worldly pursuits. Ikkyū left the following words to his disciples not long before his death: "After I'm gone, some of you will seclude yourselves in the forests and mountains to meditate, while others may drink rice wine and enjoy the company of women. Both kinds of Zen are fine, but if some become professional clerics, babbling about 'Zen as the Way,' they are my enemies."[39]

Having denounced the contemporary values of the Zen communities, Ikkyū turned to poetry and a *fūryū* aesthetic for spiritual sustenance. He declares this in a poem titled "Fisherman":

> FISHERMAN
> Learning the Way and studying Zen, one loses the Original Mind.
> A fisherman's song is worth a thousand pieces of gold.
> Evening rain on the Xiang River, the moon amid the clouds of Chu—
> It's boundless *fūryū* to chant poems night after night.[40]
> (*Kyōunshū,* 216)

In Chinese poetry, "fisherman" has been a classical signifier for a lofty recluse at least since the *Chu ci* flourished in the third century BCE. Ikkyū's imagined landscape, "Xiang River" and "Chu" in the third line, refers precisely to the region where the great *Chu ci* poets such as Qu Yuan lived.[41] Another important source that has helped to canonize this signifier is the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi.* The work depicts an old fisherman teaching the Daoist truth to Confucius. He says:

> By "the Truth" I mean purity and sincerity in their highest degree. . . . When a man has the Truth within himself, his spirit may move among external things. That is why the Truth is to be prized! . . .

> Rites are something created by the vulgar men of the world; the Truth is that which is received from Heaven. By nature it is the way it is and cannot be changed. Therefore the sage patterns himself on Heaven, prizes the Truth, and does not allow himself to be cramped by the vulgar.[42]

"Fisherman" in this context becomes a classic allusion with multiple implications. First, it calls up the Chu poet Qu Yuan's encounter with the fisherman on the banks of the Xiang; Qu represents the uncompromisingly virtuous man who is misunderstood and mistreated in his time. Second, the image asserts a stance or point of view based on Daoist truths, which, in opposition to worldly values, regards rites and orthodox conventions as vulgar and insists on the original nature of all beings. In later Chinese poems and literary texts, "fisherman" is almost a synonym for recluse. Clearly aware of this literary and philosophical tradition, in his poetry Ikkyū places the fisherman's *fūryū* above religious and moral pursuits. This stance can be seen more clearly in the following poem:

> THE LAST CHRYSANTHEMUM IN THE SOUTH GARDEN
> Late chrysanthemums beneath the east fence—aging color of autumn;
> Leisurely facing the south mountain, my mind wanders into the distance.
> The "Three Essentials" and the "Three Mysteries" I do not know at all;
> The spirit of Yuanming's song is my type of *fūryū*.[43]
> (*Kyōunshū*, 332)

The chrysanthemum by the east fence at the Jin dynasty Chinese poet Tao Yuanming's (Tao Qian) retreat is a singularly famous image in Chinese recluse literature. By directly connecting his *fūryū* with Tao's, Ikkyū introduces an eminently important aspect of *fūryū* that had before been virtually absent in the Japanese *fūryū* aesthetic. Ikkyū's knowledge of and fondness for Wei-Jin *fengliu* can be clearly seen in his other poems, such as the following:

> ON THE PICTURE OF YUANMING
> WHO LOVED RED CHRYSANTHEMUMS
> With a red heart, you invite the autumn winds—
> The Western-Jin *fūryū*, chrysanthemums never fail.
> Surely you are the blood beneath Yuanming's skin;
> By the east hedge, amid the fading colors, belated flowers crimsoned.[44]
> (*Kyōunshū*, 865)

Here the poet's admiration for Tao and the *fengliu* of his time is vividly conveyed in the poem. Ikkyū's *Kyōunshū* alludes frequently to Tao Yuan-

ming. Including the poems above, seven poems in the collection cite Tao's famous line "Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence." Ikkyū's overt admiration of the Chinese recluse poet played a notable role in promoting *fūryū* as an aesthetic of unconventionality in Japanese literature, and this new meaning of *fūryū* was reiterated strongly in *haikai* by Bashō and his disciples.

In his *History of Japanese Literature,* Konishi Jin'ichi observes that "the leading principles of the Early Middle Ages, *'miyabi'* and amorousness, are both equivalent to the Chinese principle of *fengliu.*"[45] About *fengliu,* he writes: "Chinese *fengliu* signified an idealized sphere of worldly pleasures and was symbolized by four components: zither, poetry, wine and singing-girls. These may be rephrased as music, literature, merrymaking and the company of women."[46] The Chinese *fengliu* and its Japanese counterpart described by Konishi here are clearly different from what Ikkyū called "my kind of *fūryū*" and what Bashō considered *fūryū*. Whereas both types of *fūryū* have deep roots in Chinese literary history, the tradition Ikkyū saw in the spirit of the fisherman and Tao Yuanming was the most fruitful and influential in Chinese poetry. This tradition fully developed during the Wei-Jin period and has been favorably referred to as the Wei-Jin *fengliu* in Chinese literary studies. It is this Wei-Jin *fengliu* that fundamentally influenced Bashō's concept of *fūryū*.

The Wei-Jin *Fengliu* and the Spirit of *Xiaoyaoyou*

Scholars view the period of the Wei-Jin (220–420) and the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–550) as an epoch of self-awakening in Chinese literary history. This self-awakening went hand in hand with the prevalence of Daoist thought in the era. Confucian teachings were officially promoted as and transformed into ruling ideology in the latter half of the Former Han dynasty (206 BCE–24 CE), but with the fall of the Latter Han in 220 CE, the political unity collapsed and Confucianism no longer had supreme authority. Continuous war and social turmoil caused enormous loss of life, and a strong sense of uncertainty and impermanence shook the literati's belief in orthodox Confucian values. Many literati stayed away from corrupt and dangerous politics by retreating to the mountains and fields.

The weakening of political structures and orthodox value systems, however, to a certain extent also opened new possibilities and freed intellectuals from rigid rites. As a result, the Wei-Jin period witnessed the

emergence of new ideas and new personalities that would have been aberrant according to Confucian tradition. Educated people sought the meaning of life in Daoist teaching and reinterpreted Confucianism in its light. Transcending the orthodox ethical codes and following naturalness became the vogue.[47]

The magnetism of Daoist thought in this period of social disorder owed much to the unique nature of its philosophical presumptions. The humane ideals and positive social functions of Confucianism are undeniable. However, the ethical codes it advocated conflicted in many respects with the freedom of the individual, particularly when it was transformed into orthodox social norms and ruling ideology. Confucian canons imposed regulations restricting not only social and ethical conduct but also one's bearing and expression. *The Analects,* for example, is well known for its detailed descriptions of the bearings and expressions of Confucius himself on various social occasions,[48] to exemplify tediously prescribed norms of social behavior and ethical codes. Daoist thinkers considered Confucian ethical codes and ritual principles as hypocritical and as confining human nature. They asserted the absolute importance of individual freedom, postulating the spontaneous integration of man's inborn nature with the universal order. The *Zhuangzi* criticizes Confucianists as "enlightened on the subject of ritual principles but stupid in their understanding of men's hearts."[49] It states:

> If we must use curve and plumb line, compass and square to make something right, this means cutting away its inborn nature; if we must use cords and knots, glue and lacquer to make something firm, this means violating its natural Virtue. So the crouchings and bendings of rites and music, the smiles and beaming looks of benevolence and righteousness, which are intended to comfort the hearts of the world, in fact destroy their constant naturalness.[50]

In opposition to Confucian ritual principles and ethical codes, the *Zhuangzi* advocates a different attitude toward life—carefree wandering, the basic idea of which is emancipation of the mind, which Lin Xiyi describes as "letting one's mind wander in naturalness."[51] Carefree wandering denotes and requests a realm aesthetically oriented, for the concept of beauty in Chinese tradition is a domain where the free purpose of individual existence is harmoniously integrated with the law of the cosmos.[52] This aesthetic orientation of Daoist thought made its literary application immediately possible.

Xiaoyaoyou and other Daoist ideas began to be widely used in literary thinking during the Wei and Jin periods, especially through the poetry of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove[53] and the foremost recluse poet of China, Tao Qian. It was in this climate that the term *fengliu* began to be used to depict a kind of person who, while extremely refined and talented in letters, assumes an unconventional, even eccentric, attitude toward life. By extension, *fengliu* also referred to the works and artistic expression of such characters. This usage is typically seen in the depictions of characters in *Shi shuo xin yu* (New tales from the world)[54] and the *Jin shu* (Book of the Jin). The celebrated poet and calligrapher Wang Xianzhi (344–386), for example, is portrayed as *fengliu:* "Xianzhi, whose polite name was Zijing, became famous when he was still very young. He was lofty and unconventional. Although he spent his life in idleness, he was refined in manner. His *fengliu* ranked first of his time."[55] The unique combination of unrestraint and refinement as well as eccentricity and loftiness in *fengliu* is typically represented by the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, whose influence is clearly present in the works of the Shōmon.

The Seven Worthies are said to have engaged in drinking and metaphysical discussions everyday in a bamboo grove outside the capital Luoyang during the Wei period. They were not a monolithic entity, and their complex political attitudes have given rise to diverse opinions on their contribution to Chinese history. There is, however, a consensus about the literary image they have projected in Chinese poetry: the practice of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove contributed directly to the evolution of the *fengliu* and *kuang* (eccentricity) into influential aesthetics in Chinese literature.

In contrast to their noble family backgrounds and the Confucian education they received, the Seven Worthies were known for their antiritualism and unrestrained deportment. It is said that Ruan Ji once stayed drunk for two months to avoid a royal marriage proposal. Ji Kang ended his friendship with Shan Tao when Shan recommended that he serve in the government. Outlandish at first glance, the eccentric behavior of both was a deliberate act of "transcending Confucian ethical codes and following one's heart."[56] One of Ruan Ji's poems, for example, laughs at the ritualism of "the great Confucianists":

The mighty Confucianists stress rules and regulations,
   even their clothing has constant standards.
They set order to rank the honored and humble,
   and regulate everything with codes.

. . . .
In their front hall they set out water,
while their inner rooms are filled with fine grains.
They articulate moral virtue and simplicity in public,
but, at home, they end their fragrant show.
While rarely speaking without restraint,
they talk according to the Confucian Way.
Their stooping abasement, their rituals and bearing,
all this posing and gesturing makes me sick![57]

Consciously working against the Confucian norms of being a "gentleman" *(junzi),* the Seven Worthies found their ideals in Daoist paradigms. In his essay "Daren xiansheng zhuan" (Biography of the great man), Ruan Ji portrays a gentleman whose image typifies a Daoist sage: "The kind of man I call a great man is someone who is one with the *zaohua,* who arises with heaven and earth, who, being carefree, wanders in the transient world and perfects himself with the *Dao;* he changes and transforms, disperses and gathers, not limited to one outer form."[58]

This passage is taken almost verbatim from the descriptions of the "Perfect Man" in the *Zhuangzi.* As the author of *Da Zhuang lun* (Attaining the *Zhuangzi*) and *Tong Lao lun* (Understanding the *Laozi*), Ruan Ji implies that his ideal image of man, as well as his ideal of life and beauty, is to be one with the *Dao* of the Natural. The perfect man in his portrait reminds us in many ways of Bashō's poetic persona: he mingles with the changes and vicissitudes of heaven and earth, transcends the limits of outer forms, and attains a boundless infinity. It warrants our attention that in the description above Ruan Ji characterizes the great man's life as *xiaoyao*—carefree wandering. A characteristic theme of the Seven Worthies' poems and writings, carefree wandering was the philosophical and aesthetic basis of their deliberate eccentricity. Ji Kang's following poem, for instance, describes the carefree wandering of his mind:

Having exterminated cleverness and discarded learning,
my mind wanders in the deep and the tranquil:
Not regretting if I committed an error,
nor making a show when meeting with success.
Fishing in a deep valley,
I enjoy my own world.
With my hair down, I stroll and sing,
and harmonious air suffuses all around me.
O! Sing and celebrate—
my mind wanders in the deep and tranquil.[59]

This kind of bold celebration of the eccentric self is unprecedented in Chinese poetry. The first line marks an explicit allusion to the following words in the *Laozi:* "Exterminate the sage and discard the wise, and the people will benefit a hundredfold," and "Exterminate learning and there will no longer be worries."[60] The second couplet alludes to the description of the True Man in the *Zhuangzi:* "A man like this could commit an error and not regret it, could meet with success and not make a show."[61] The heavy citations from the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* in the first four lines of the poem announce the speaker's stance, providing philosophical depth to the eccentric self-portrait in the latter half of the poem. The image of the fishing in the fifth line, as mentioned earlier, was an established signifier in Chinese recluse literature and Daoist texts. In portraying himself as a fisherman, Ji Kang identifies himself as a Daoist recluse and states his preference for the world of carefree wandering. In another poem, Ji Kang also portrays himself as a fisherman:

> Quietly, the water flows in its vastness.
> Drifting, my cypress boat now floats, now loafs.
> The faint sound of my whistling[62] is carried away by the clean breeze;
> I bend to the oars, and the boat rocks.
> Putting down the oars and picking up the fishing rod—
> I'd end my year in carefree wandering.[63]

The resemblance between this poem and Ikkyū's fisherman poems is remarkable. The poem presents a series of themes on Daoist values: tranquility, idleness, solitude, and eccentricity. These themes, however, remain implicit until the keynote is struck in the last line. With the mention of carefree wandering, all these elements are transfigured, and the idle fishing scene is sublimated into a spiritual realm, which the *Zhuangzi* defines as "perfect beauty" and "perfect happiness."[64]

As shown by Ji Kang's verses, the *xiaoyaoyou* aesthetic is the foundation of the eccentricity *(kuang)* and unconventionality *(fengliu)* of the Wei-Jin poets. By assuming this aesthetic attitude, the Seven Worthies attempted to transcend the worldly worries of a chaotic society, even the fear of death. The following anecdote from *Shi shuo xin yu,* whether or not it is factual, gives us a clue to the climate of the Wei-Jin period and the significance of the *xiaoyaoyou* aesthetic in the literati's lives.

> When Ji Zhongsan [Ji Kang] was facing execution at the eastern market, his expression showed no change. He asked for a zither and played the "Melody of Guangling." As the melody ended, he said: "Yuan Xiaoni

> once wanted to learn this piece, but I was so stubborn that I didn't teach him. Alas! The 'Melody of Guangling' is lost from now on."[65]

Ji Kang had been sentenced to execution as a result of political slander. Rather than focusing on political issues, *Shi shuo xin yu* magnifies the aesthetic eccentricity Ji Kang demonstrated when facing death: what concerned him was not the loss of his life, but the loss of his art. While Ji's aesthetic sensibility also can be interpreted as a political statement, he is nonetheless remembered, like his fellow Worthies, more popularly for his aesthetic attitude toward life. To live and die with an attitude of *xiaoyaoyou*—in this lies the poetic reverence of *fengliu*.

Tao Qian and Returning to the Natural

While the Seven Worthies of the Wei period highlight the *xiaoyaoyou* aesthetic with their eccentric character types, the poetic persona of Tao Qian in the Eastern Jin (317–420) manifests these qualities in a plain and natural style. The fifth of Tao's twenty poems on drinking wine exemplifies this style:

> My cottage is built in the world of men,
> yet there is no noise of carriage and horse.
> You would ask how it could be so?
> When one's mind is afar, his place becomes remote.
> Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence,
> leisurely I caught a glimpse of Southern Mountain.
> The mountain atmosphere at sunset is fine,
> and flying birds return with each other.
> In this there is true meaning;
> as discerning it, I've forgotten words.[66]

The images employed in the poem were enthusiastically adopted from the Tang onward and supplied several poetic conventions upon which both Ikkyū and Bashō repeatedly drew: the hut evoking a reclusive situation, chrysanthemums signifying a lofty hermitage, and the flying bird returning to its nest as an emblem of one's longing for his true home—nature. In exploring the affective power of this verse, Chinese critics' attention has been drawn to one term, *xin yuan* (here translated as "when one's mind is afar") in the fourth line of the poem. The phrase is considered by some premodern Chinese critics as "the core of the whole poem, in which the 'true meaning' and the 'forgotten words' are embodied."[67]

Before Tao, the term *"xin yuan"* appeared in Ji Kang's *Qin fu* (Poetic exposition on the zither), in which Ji expresses his inclinations for carefree wandering in the disguise of praising the zither. The ending paragraph of the eulogy is:

> Harmonious and tranquil,
> the virtue of the zither is immeasurable.
> Its body is pure and its mind afar *(xin yuan),*
> wandering at an unreachable distance.
> ....
> Since few really know its tone,
> who could appreciate its melody?
> The one who can understand the elegant zither
> is but the Perfect Man.[68]

The description of the virtue of the zither is also Ji Kang's expression of his own mind. Sighing over the lack of understanding audiences, the lonely musician finds someone to identify with—the "Perfect Man" portrayed in the *Zhuangzi*. *Xin yuan* in this context designates a spiritual realm far beyond mundane limitations. The Chinese character *yuan* can be either an adjective or a verb. If a verb, the phrase means "one's mind wanders far," which is very close to *xin you* (one's mind wanders), the phrase Lin Xiyi uses to explain *xiaoyaoyou*. In the text of the *Zhuangzi,* a similar expression, *you xin,* "to let one's mind wander," appears frequently:[69]

> Let your mind wander in simplicity, blend your spirit with the vastness, follow along with things the way they are, and make no room for personal views—then the world will be governed.[70]

> A man like this doesn't know what his ears or eyes should approve—he lets his mind play *(you)* in the harmony of virtue.[71]

These excerpts show that *you xin, xin you,* and *xin yuan* all point to a state of mind that transcends worldly bondage and attains "heavenly wandering." Tao Qian's *xin yuan* is based on the same meaning-giving context. As the key link of the poem, the term first answers the question raised by the opening couplet: the speaker is able to live both amid and beyond the "noise of carriage and horse" because his mind is wandering in a domain far from the common world. In this mental state, his sense of reality is transformed, and the mundane world in which he lives is turned into a space of pure beauty and tranquility. In the third and fourth couplets, a transformed reality is vividly visualized. As in Ji Kang's poems, Tao Qian

characterizes the life of the speaker by carefree idleness; but diverging from the extraordinary atmosphere pursued by Ji Kang and his fellows, Tao presents the theme through a scene from ordinary life.

The third couplet, particularly the sixth line, *"youran jian nan shan"* (Leisurely I caught a glimpse of the Southern Mountain), has been praised by Chinese critics as a paramount poetic depiction of a purposeless and carefree state. A Song critic writes:

> Su Shi has commented on Tao Qian's lines, "Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence/Leisurely I caught a glimpse of the Southern Mountain," saying that people who don't understand the poem and take the verb *jian* (catch a glimpse of) as *wang* (look) are no better than mixing beautiful jade with rock. I saw in Bo Juyi's "Poem Imitating Tao Qian" the following lines: "I often pour a cup of wine,/Sit and look at the faraway Southeastern Mountain," these lines have been popular since long ago. Yet, Wei Yingwu[72] has a verse to the assistant officer of Changan, Pei Shui, "I plucked chrysanthemums before the dew was dry,/and caught a glimpse of the autumn mountain when raising my head." From this couplet we can see that the latter poet has truly obtained the essence of Tao Qian's poem, and that Su Shi's comment is absolutely true.[73]

The critic's admiration for the poet's use of *jian* (caught a glimpse), an unintentional action, versus *wang* (look at), an intentional action, reflects the impact of Daoist values on Chinese poetry: the idle, purposeless, and carefree state of mind is celebrated as a supreme poetic quality. This quality reminds us of what Bashō repeatedly expresses through his self-portraits such as the idle man under the plantain and the spun silk in the wind.

The concluding couplet draws the reader's attention to the "true meaning" embodied in the tableau but avoids spelling it out directly. An explicit allusion to a statement in the *Zhuangzi,* "I have already forgotten the words," is based on Zhuangzi's comment, "Words exist because of meaning; once you've gotten the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgotten the words so I can have a word with him?"[74] Like Ji Kang, who asserts that the Daoist "Perfect Man" is the only one who knows his tone, Tao Qian is eager to show that he, like Zhuangzi, understands the truth but does not trust words. Both poets consciously identify their poetic selves with Zhuangzi.

As is true of many major Chinese poets, the philosophical tendency of Tao's thought is complex: his writings contain wide reference to both Daoist thinkers and Confucian works. Nevertheless, the poetic persona

Tao has created in his poetry typically manifests the *xiaoyaoyou* aesthetic. From the sixth century onward Tao Qian has been considered the "foremost recluse poet"[75] in China, and his life and poetry often have been associated with the Daoist ideal of "returning to the Natural." The first of Tao's "Five Poems on Returning to Gardens and Fields to Dwell" describes his hermitage as follows:

From my youth I've lacked the worldly tune,
  by nature I have loved hills and mountains.
Accidentally I fell into the dusty net of the world,
  and thirteen years passed at once.
The bird in a trammel longs for its former forest;
  a fish in a pond misses its native deep.
I opened up wasteland at the southern wilds,
  adhering to the simple, I returned to the fields.
On a square plot less than two acres,
  my thatched hut is eight or nine measures.
Elms and willows shade the back yard;
  peach and plum cover the front of the hall.
Dim in the distance, is a remote village,
  lingering vaguely, the country smoke.
A dog barks deep in the alley,
  a cock crows atop a mulberry tree.
My home and yard have no dusty goods—
  the empty room has sufficient leisureliness.
For too long I have been confined in a cage,
  now I've come back to naturalness.[76]

Tao compares his experience as an official to that of a fettered animal, and declares that the natural world is where he finds home.

Intimacy with nature as a literary theme in China is not limited to Daoist texts. Nonetheless, Confucian and Daoist thinkers have shed very different lights on the relationship between men and nature. With the human world as the center of observation, Confucian scholars pointed out nature's correspondences with man and society. From Confucius' statement on the congruity of the wise and water, and the benevolent and mountains,[77] to Dong Zhongshu's (ca. 179 BCE–ca. 104 BCE)[78] notion of the "correspondence between Heaven and man," to Cheng Hao's (1032–1085)[79] celebrated verse, "The fine impulses of four seasons are the same as those of men,"[80] nature has been perceived as the incarnations of the operations of human culture and interpreted with the significances and orders established by men. Reflected in literary thought, there is an en-

during critical belief that "poetry can spontaneously reflect, affect and effect political and cosmic order."[81]

Daoist thinkers, on the other hand, believe that man "pattern[s] himself on the Natural"[82] and should return to the Natural *(ziran)*. Taking nature as the true home of man and naturalness and spontaneity as the cosmic order, the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* negate all institutions created by man and believe that they alienate human beings from the natural state of the universe and man's inborn nature. As seen in previous discussions, a basic stance the Daoist thinkers took was to emancipate human beings from the net of significances and orders they had woven for themselves. Tao Qian's return to nature fundamentally exemplified the Daoist perspective on the relationship between nature and human beings. It celebrated the realization and perfection of individuality through being one with nature.

By Tao Qian's time, eremitism had a long history in China. The retreats of early recluses, such as the legendary figures Bo Yi and Shu Qi of Zhou times (ca. 11th century BCE–256 BCE), were mainly motivated by a moral sense of right and wrong. When Confucian teaching arose, it endowed reclusion with political significance: *junzi* or gentlemen were expected to serve under an enlightened sovereign and retreat when the ruler was corrupt.[83] The Daoist thinkers also praised a life of solitude and retreat, but for a Daoist sage, eremitism was not an escape from the society to which he was responsible, but a return to the state of naturalness and simplicity to which he originally belonged. The *Laozi* calls this state an "uncarved block," and the *Zhuangzi* defines it as "pure trueness." The typical recluse life pictured by Daoist writers, therefore, is not physical suffering in a dangerous wilderness, but pure joy in a mental space transcending the world, a peaceful isolation in the embrace of nature. Although the elements of poverty and humbleness are often present in Daoist recluse literature to convey the principle of simplicity and to set out by contrast a spiritual richness, they are often portrayed as qualities of beauty rather than sources of frustration and grief. This characteristic is explicit in Tao's poems cited above.

After Buddhism was introduced into China during Eastern Han times, the Buddhist practice of renouncing the secular world brought a new type of recluse: retreat as a step toward salvation and religious enlightenment. The original ascetic concepts of Buddhist reclusion, however, had very limited influence on mainstream Chinese poetry. Only after the assimilation and reinterpretation of the Buddhist recluse tradition through indigenous Daoist thought could the aesthete-recluse prac-

tice of the Chan (Zen) priest/scholars gain popularity among Chinese literati and become an important component of the Chinese aesthete-recluse tradition.[84]

The prominence of the recluse persona in Chinese poetry has attracted much scholarly interest, and many ascribe the phenomenon to a sociopolitical environment in which reclusion has been the only tolerable nonconformity. As we have seen, however, ideas concerning the recluse life have never been a monolithic concept in China, and the prominent recluse themes as a literary phenomenon cannot be fully explained simply by sociopolitical factors. It is in the aesthetic nature of Tao Qian's hermitage and its epitome of the Daoist concept of returning to the Natural that we find the most illuminating explanation for the lasting vitality of the aesthete-recluse tradition in Chinese literature. It is also this aesthetic nature of the tradition represented by Tao Qian that had a deep impact on Japanese poets. Tao Qian represents an aesthete-recluse tradition that unifies life and art, or, as seen in his poems, transforms life into aesthetic experiences. In this aesthetic way of life naturalness is the valued quality and carefree wandering is the essential state.

The aesthetic nature of Tao's hermitage contributed crucially to his unshakable position in Chinese poetic history: Tao Qian was the idol of the entire generation of the High Tang poets, whose achievements have been considered the apogee of classical Chinese poetry.[85] The famous Song poet Su Shi placed Tao above the greatest of the High Tang talents, Li Bo and Du Fu, and emulated him verse for verse. After the Tang and the Song dynasties, Tao's poems were included in almost every general anthology, and his verse "Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence,/Leisurely I caught a glimpse of the Southern Mountain," became the locus of the aesthete-recluse tradition with which Bashō identified himself.

Bashō and the Wei-Jin *Fengliu*

As shown by the poems of Ji Kang and Tao Qian, while the Wei-Jin *fengliu* openly celebrated the pleasures of life, such celebration reflects mainly an impulse toward individual freedom. The "amorousness" and worldly pleasures that Konishi observed in the Chinese *fengliu* did not become basic components of *fengliu* in China until later in the Southern dynasties (420–589), when northern invaders occupied the Chinese capital, Luoyang, and forced the royal family and aristocracy to flee to the south. The fugitive southern courts patronized literary salons, in which

“palace-style poetry” prevailed. The characteristics of “palace-style poetry” can be seen in its representative collection, *Yu tai xin yong* (New poems from a jade terrace).[86] Indeed, in this anthology the principal concerns “are women—wives, concubines, and entertainers—and their surroundings: boudoirs, gardens and such specific *yongwu* [poems on objects] topics as fans, incense burners, mirrors, lamps, and musical instruments.”[87] In the *Yu tai xin yong, fengliu* appears in five poems;[88] all five poems are by Liang (502–557) poets and use *fengliu* to imply an amorous sensuality or atmosphere. “Yong hong jian” (Singing of red notepaper) is one example:

Variegated colors are not rare,
  but this piece of red is remarkable.
Flaming and afire, like lotus in bloom,
  light and transparent, as filmy mist.
Its embossed fiber rolled with perfumed oil,
  carrying the fragrance of cut flowers.
Let it convey my heart in separation,
  enveloping with it my yearning of love.
Had I not encountered my beloved,
  how could I ever know of the *fengliu* bed?[89]

In this poem *fengliu* explicitly describes an amorous affair. At the time of the Southern dynasties, the emphasis of *fengliu* shifted from spiritual freedom and unconventionality to material pleasures. It was through the works of these court poets that *fengliu* began to take on specific implications of those pleasures and amorousness. These later implications of *fengliu,* however, did not replace the earlier ones; under the same rubric of *fengliu,* both sets of aesthetic values are rendered in the poetry of later generations, and both found their way to Japan.

Evidently, the *fūryū* aesthetic adapted by the Heian aristocrats derived from the latter set of values seen primarily in the palace-style poetry of the Southern dynasties, while poets like Ikkyū and Bashō used the term in the sense of the former Wei-Jin tradition. Why the Heian readers ignored the Wei-Jin *fengliu* that formed an important part of the poetic language of the High Tang poetry is puzzling. Konishi suggests that it was because the Japanese poetic world had not then become advanced enough to discriminate among Chinese poetic styles and appreciate them critically.[90] Kanda Hideo notes that it was because High Tang poetry had not reached Japan at the time.[91] According to Kanda's investigation, although the Middle Tang poet Bo Juyi's works were widely read

in Japan from the Heian period, there was no evidence of the influence of the High Tang talents such as Li Bo and Du Fu in Japanese literature before the end of the Kamakura period (1185–1333), and the Heian literary taste reflected mainly the court culture.[92] But this changed from the late Kamakura period. For over three hundred years from the late Kamakura, the study trips of Zen monks to monasteries in China formed direct contact between Japan and China. A small number of influential Chinese monks also made their way to Japan during that time. The Chinese texts transmitted into Japan through the Gozan Zen temples include not only the anthologies of the High Tang poets and famous Song poets, but also the critical works and poetic handbooks compiled in China during the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, such as *Gu wen zhen bao* (True treasures of ancient literature),[93] *Shiren yu xie* (Gemlike words of poets),[94] *Lian zhu shi ge* (Strings of pearls: A classified selection from Tang and Song poets),[95] and *Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu* (Practical knacks and workable methods: An encyclopedia of poetics).[96] These books documented the rediscovery of Tao Qian and the celebration of the aesthete-recluse tradition in the Tang and Song periods, and conceptualized the themes, diction, and aesthetic values of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition into practical poetics.

These Chinese texts were widely read by the Gozan priests, and their annotation and reprinting of these texts no doubt helped shape a picture of the Chinese poetic legacy different from that of the Heian nobles. In the *kanshi* poems written by medieval Japanese priests, references to "fisherman" and Tao Qian, as well as to the Wei-Jin *fengliu,* are not rare. Ikkyū's poetry, as we have seen, greatly articulated the Wei-Jin *fengliu*. How much Bashō read Ikkyū is unclear. However, in *Sanzōshi,* Bashō's disciple Dohō lists Ikkyū as one of the forerunners of *haikai* when he discusses the history of witty or comic poetry in China and Japan.[97] The *Sanzōshi* is known for its faithful record of Bashō's teachings. Whether or not the mention of Ikkyū in the *Sanzōshi* is based on Bashō's words, it shows that the Shōmon poets not only had good knowledge of Ikkyū's poetry, but also associated *haikai* with the legacy of Ikkyū.

Bashō's admiration for the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove and Tao Qian is clearly evident in his writings. One essay dedicated to his deceased disciple, Matsukura Ranran (1647–1693), for example, mentions that the Master had named Ranran's young son after Wang Rong, one of the Seven Worthies. Wang Rong is one of the less famous of the Seven Worthies; Bashō's choice therefore demonstrates his familiarity with the tradition as a whole. Bashō, in the same essay, also praises Ranran in

light of the Daoist spirit: "He had the spirit of Lao and Zhuang and dedicated his whole heart to poetry."[98] Though a very brief statement, the connection he draws between the Daoist spirit and the dedication to poetry here demonstrates a deep understanding of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition.

Concerning the actual texts through which Bashō gained his knowledge of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* and Daoist thought, those Chinese poetry anthologies and handbooks spread in Japan through the Gozan Zen temples during the late Medieval and Edo periods played an important role. Nieda Tadashi and Hirota Jirō have isolated more than thirty Chinese works, including Daoist and Confucian classics, histories, and a large number of poetic anthologies and handbooks, from which Bashō drew quotations and allusions.[99] However, as both Nieda and Hirota have noticed, some of those citations might well have come from other sources, such as the *nō* songs *(yōkyoku)*. Other possible sources are Japanese introductory books on Chinese poetry. By the end of the 1670s, reading and writing Chinese poems had become so popular that besides various Chinese anthologies and collections that were reprinted in Japan, a large number of works were derived by Japanese writers from the popular Chinese poetic books. The writing style of those works shows a remarkable similarity to the theoretical writings of the Shōmon poets,[100] indicating that the Shōmon were familiar with these materials.

As for the original Chinese sources that informed Bashō of Chinese poetry and poetics, scholars agree that rather than collections by individual writers, Bashō probably read more through the popular anthologies, such as *San ti shi* (Poems of three forms),[101] *Gu wen zhen bao, Lian zhu shi ge,* and *Kinshū dan* (Collection of brocade pieces),[102] as well as some handbooks of general poetics, such as *Shiren yu xie* and *Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu*. In these popular anthologies and handbooks, the aesthetic-recluse taste articulated by the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition had become not only an established aesthetic value, but also part and parcel of the poetic language. *Shiren yu xie,* for example, gives particular importance to Tao Qian's position in Chinese poetic history. *Juan* 13 of the work treats major poets and poems before the Tang dynasty in six sections. While all the other poets are grouped by period and treated in five sections, Tao Qian alone is discussed in a special section. In the other *juan*s and sections that are not dedicated exclusively to Tao Qian, his name also is mentioned frequently as a model for creating supreme poetry. In defining the "Poetic Taste," for example, the compiler sets out four categories. The second category uses Tao Qian to enunciate "The Taste of the Extraordinary." One excerpt quotes Su Shi's comments on Tao Qian:

> Su Shi says: "Yuanming's poems may appear tame at first glance, but when you read them repeatedly, you will find an extraordinary taste in there. See, for example, . . . 'Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence/Leisurely I caught a glimpse of the Southern Mountain' and 'Dim in the distance, is a remote village,/lingering vaguely, the country smoke./A dog barks deep in the alley,/a cock crows atop a mulberry tree.' These lines are supreme in ingenuity and far-reaching in meaning; his use of words is so precise and mature that it can be compared to the great carpenter who leaves no trace of cutting when whirling his hatchet; those who don't know this essence will never understand these lines no matter how hard they try."[103]

The comparison of Tao's control of words to the skill of a great carpenter is based on a story in the *Zhuangzi* that describes how Carpenter Shi can skillfully slice a speck of plaster off the tip of a man's nose without injuring him. Su Shi cites the *Zhuangzi* to praise the naturalness and precision of Tao's poetry. This theoretical emphasis on naturalness, as will be discussed in the next chapter, had a great impact on Bashō's *haikai* theory. What is also noteworthy here is Tao's poetic taste or essence being celebrated by both Su Shi and the compiler of *Shiren yu xie.* The book shows that the Wei-Jin *fengliu* had become an important part of Chinese poetics by the time of the Song. These sources, in turn, provided Bashō with a rich aesthetic tradition upon which to build new *haikai* themes. *Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu* is another example of such sources that are full of poetic diction, images, and themes that manifest the Wei-Jin *fengliu.*

Differing from *Lian zhu shi ge,* which focuses on the uses of words, especially verbs and adverbs, *Yuan ji huo fa* concentrates on imagery and themes. It first divides images and themes that recur in Chinese poetry into forty-four categories: "Astronomy," "Seasons," "Seasonal Festivals," and so forth. In each category, it lists relevant images and themes as entries, providing each entry with "Historical Facts," "Poetic Meaning," "Related Images and Motives," and "Sample Verses" that contain the image or theme under discussion. The category "Palaces and Dwellings," for example, has some sixty entries. Among them the majority deal with dwellings in natural or solitary settings, such as "Mountain Pavilion," "Pavilion in the Woods," "Pavilion Surrounded by Bamboos," "Moon-viewing Terrace," "Fishing Stand," "Veranda Surrounded by Bamboo Groves," "Dwelling in Retirement," "Dwelling in Poverty," "Dwelling in Mountains," "Dwelling at the Remote Outskirts of a City," "Mountain House," "Farm House," "Fisherman's Dwelling," "Abandoned Temple,"

and so forth. The information given in these entries is suffused with the same kind of poetic taste articulated by *Shiren yu xie*. Under the title "Dwelling in Retirement," for instance, the book cites Tao Qian as an example under "Historical Facts" and provides 168 couplets by poets from different periods; some of them directly mention the names of Ruan Ji, Ji Kang, and Tao Qian. The entry also gives twenty-six "Related Images and Motives," such as "composing a poem," "study surrounded by bamboos," "bamboo groves," "thatched hut," "sitting in tranquility," "lonely and tranquil," "remote place," "playing the zither," "purity and loftiness," and "drinking wine."

Contrarily, space given to entries like "Mansion" and "Government Building and Official's Mansion" is quite limited and the sample couplets cited for those entries far fewer: thirteen for "Mansion" and fifteen for "Government Building and Official's Mansion."[104] The numbers listed here, of course, do not necessarily prove that *Yuan ji huo fa* in general represents only Daoist traits. In fact, the preface suggests that the compiler intended to follow the six principles articulated by the orthodox Confucian literary theories. Yet, when the recurrent images and themes are examined together, the prominent recluse trend in Chinese poetry inevitably becomes evident. Consequently, the collective information that could be gleaned from such popular poetic books as *Shiren yu xie* and *Yuan ji huo fa* provided not only a macroscopic view of the Daoist recluse traits in Chinese poetic tradition but also offered handy materials for writing poems in line with that tradition. The diction, images, and themes infused with potent Daoist flavor have no doubt attracted great attention from the *haikai* poets who sought new meaning and language for their poetry. It cannot be a coincidence that the two Chinese poets whom Bashō cites in his "On Replanting My Plantain Tree," Zhang Hengqu and Huaisu, are both quoted in the entry "Plantain Tree" in *Yuan ji huo fa*.[105]

Bashō's works written after his retreat to Fukagawa show clear marks of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition. In describing his plantain hut, for instance, he writes: "Chrysanthemums flourish beneath my eastern fence, and the bamboos are like gentlemen by my northern window."[106] The first half of the sentence draws upon Tao Qian's verse. The second half reminds us of the image of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove. Modeling upon his Chinese forerunners, Bashō attempted to manifest *fūryū* in both his life and his poetry. Indeed, Bashō's hut dwelling and travel were not like a "hermitage" or "pilgrimage" in the sense of total seclusion, but a way of living in *fūryū*. He constantly met people, visited the historical sites of literary monuments, and composed *haikai*

with other poets. These activities, as Kyorai wrote, were an important part of the pursuit of *fūryū:* "There are many unusual men of *fūryū* in the world. No wonder the late master had journeyed throughout the country for days and months, seeking to meet various people who are connoisseurs of poetry."[107]

Having this purpose in mind, it is not surprising that Bashō's major travel accounts often center on poems that record his meetings with the "men of *fūryū.*" His first major travel account, *Nozarashi kikō,* contains many poems of this kind, such as "Visiting a Retired Man's Thatched House," "Staying Overnight at a Priest's Place," "On Seeing a Traveler," and "Spending New Year's Eve at a Mountain House." These occasional poems dominate the development of the account, while the prose narrative functions only as a rough connection between or a brief introduction to them. The structure of *Nozarashi kikō* reveals that, from the first journey, creating an appropriate context or situation in order to compose poems is the traveler's top priority, and Bashō often consciously associates such a context and situation with the Wei-Jin *fengliu.* The nature of the poetic context Bashō values can be seen in the following paragraph in *Nozarashi kikō:*

> Entering the country of Yamato, we came to a place called Amid the Bamboo Groves (Take no uchi) at the province of Katsuge. Because this was my company Chiri's birthplace, we spent several days there resting our feet. There was a house deep amid the bamboo groves.
>
> The sounds of the cotton bow
> are comforting like lute
> deep in the bamboo groves.
> *watayumi ya/biwa ni nagusamu/take no oku*[108]

The comparison of the sounds of the cotton bow to music reminds us of the poem on the rice-planting song, in which listening to the song is described as *fūryū.* Although the poet does not say so explicitly, the theme of this poem is also one of *fūryū.* The connection between this verse and the *fengliu* tradition is made more apparent in another piece of short prose that introduces the circumstance of the poem.

> AMID BAMBOO GROVES
> When I was staying at a place called Take no uchi—Amid the Bamboo Groves—in Yamato, the village chief often came to see me in the mornings and evenings, I assume to comfort me in the tedium of my travels. This gentleman is truly unusual. His mind wanders freely in the high

> while his body mingles with such common people as grass mowers, woodcutters, and hunters. Carrying a hoe, he enters the garden of Tao Qian; leading an ox, he identifies himself with the recluse at Mount Ji. He is diligent and tireless at his duties, and he also appears humble, taking pleasure in poverty. This village chief must be the kind of man who seeks retreat amid a city and really attains it.
>
> The sounds of the cotton bow
> are comforting like lute
> deep in the bamboo groves.
> *watayumi ya/biwa ni nagusamu/take no oku*[109]

Although the village chief is not a recluse in the strict meaning of the word, this does not stop Bashō from linking him to Tao Qian and other famous Chinese recluses, nor from praising him for the detachment of his mind. Mount Ji, a mountain in modern China's Henan province, is known as the place where the famous recluses Xu You and Cao Fu lived. As we have seen, the *Zhuangzi* describes Xu as a lofty recluse who valued individual freedom more than power and wealth.[110] Without proper knowledge of the spirit of *xiaoyaoyou* and its embodiment in the Chinese recluse tradition, the meaning of Bashō's narrative in the account is difficult to understand. However, Bashō and his disciples seem to have seen Daoist ideals and the recluse taste within one aesthetic tradition. In their vocabulary, "recluse" represents sheer poetic qualities, and to discover these qualities and compose poems on them are acts of *fūryū*. In this meaning, Bashō's short *haibun* above is more an assertion of the poetics of *fūryū* than a depiction of the village chief.

Besides the popular Chinese poetry books, the reading of the *Zhuangzi*, especially Lin Xiyi's vernacular explanation of the work, the *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi*, also played an important role in shaping Bashō's perspective of *fūryū*. As mentioned earlier, in his interpretation Lin widely cites poems, even those that are not traditionally considered representative of Daoist traits, to explain Daoist terms. As a result, he leaves the reader with an impression of the prime importance of Daoist traits in Chinese poetry. For example, of Zhuangzi's words "Harmonize them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years," Lin writes:

> Not waiting [for one shifting voice to pass judgment on another] but emphasizing harmony, so one can "harmonize them with the Heavenly Equality"; having harmonized them with the Heavenly Equality, then one can wander freely along with the changes as one likes, and live out

> one's years as one wishes. This is what Zhuangzi means by "leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years." To "live out your years" is what Du Fu has written: "Being natural and unrestrained *(xiaosa),* I spend my days and months." Being so, one not only can live out one's years, but also can forget the years and months, forget the meanings and reasons, hence, rouse oneself freely in the realm of Nothingness. The word "rouse" here has the same implications as that of *xiaoyao*—to stay carefree in the realm of Nothingness, and spend one's whole life in the realm.[111]

The verse by Du Fu that Lin cites is from *Zi jing fu Fengxianxian yonghuai wubai zi shi* (A five-hundred-character poem singing of my feelings: Moving from the capital to Fengxian Prefecture, 755). The poem was written right before the outbreak of the An Lushan rebellion, which brought Tang China into years of political turmoil in the middle of the eighth century. It begins with a discursive, self-mocking analysis of the poet's unsuccessful pursuit for office and, in the thirteenth and fourteenth lines, states: "I do have an aptitude for rivers and seas,/Being carefree and unrestrained, I spend my days and months." The expression "rivers and seas" was traditionally used to indicate retreat in Chinese works. In the fifteenth chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* for example, men in retirement are referred to as "men of rivers and seas."

Although Du Fu was never considered a typical recluse poet in Chinese literature, Lin takes Du Fu's verse as an example of the life of a Daoist recluse and as an illustration of the spirit of carefree wandering. Lin's interpretation seems to have affected Bashō's understanding of Du Fu. Bashō characterizes Du Fu's poetry as *"share,"* which refers to an unrestrained temperament similar to Lin Xiyi's interpretation of Du's poem in the *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi.*[112] Du Fu's poetry is well known for its complexity and has been characterized by commentators in many different terms, but it has rarely been described as "unrestrained." Bashō's unusual characterization of Du Fu, according to Ishikawa Hachirō, has much to do with Lin's interpretation quoted above. The word *share* in Japanese has a *kanji, sha* (C. *sa*) that also appears in *xiaosa* (natural and unrestrained), the word used in Du's verse. Ishikawa points out that the Shōmon poets always used *share* in the same sense as *xiaosa* in Lin Xiyi's interpretations of the *Zhuangzi*. He argues, therefore, that Lin's interpretation of the *Zhuangzi* led the Shōmon poets to locate Du Fu in the Daoist recluse tradition.[113]

Findings like this show that Lin Xiyi's interpretation greatly reinforced Bashō's impression of the correspondence between the Daoist

principles and the recluse tradition in Chinese poetry. In Bashō's writings, Daoist ideas are enthusiastically used because he considered this practice poetic or *fūryū*. At the same time, he consciously cited Chinese poems for their embodiment of the spirit of *xiaoyaoyou/shōyōyū*. These two major sources were organically integrated to create a new dialogic context and intertextual structure for his poetic world.

Chapter 5

Following *Zōka* and Returning to *Zōka*

After Bashō's journey, which he recorded in *The Narrow Road to the Depths (Oku no hosomichi),* the Shōmon *haikai* witnessed a stylistic change in the 1690s, as Bashō's disciple Kyorai observed:

> When the late Master came back to the capital from his journey to the far North, our school's style changed drastically. We all carried a knapsack to see the Master at the Unreal Dwelling, or attended his lectures at the Fallen Persimmons Cottage. Most of us learned the essentials of the Master's teaching during that time. *Hisago* and *Sarumino* were the results.[1]

Hisago (Gourd, 1690) and *Sarumino* (Monkey's straw raincoat, 1691) are two *haikai* collections compiled under Bashō's direct supervision. The collections, particularly *Sarumino,* are generally considered representative of the Shōmon style of the 1690s, which Bashō describes as *karumi* (lightness). In *karumi,* Bashō called for naturalness and spontaneity in *haikai* composition as opposed to the heavy conceptual implications of earlier *haikai.* "Naturalness" does not seem to be a very unique characteristic in literary theories, but to achieve naturalness in *haikai* is not so easy. As we have seen, the strict compositional rules inherited from *renga* predetermined the occurrence of seasons and themes at certain locations of a sequence and required poets to compose on cherry blossoms and the moon at particular places and limited times. They also restricted the mention of specific topics to a number of successive links, and even prescribed in what form a line cuts and a link ends. Clearly, these regulations made it extremely difficult to achieve naturalness in *haikai* composition. Moreover, in order to transform *haikai* from an entertaining pastime to a

high art, for more than a decade Bashō and his followers tried to infuse it with a greater cultural and literary import. Their adaptation of Daoist themes in the 1680s was a major part of this effort. However, after successfully renovating *haikai* with a new set of themes, images, and diction based on the aesthete-recluse tradition, especially those inspired by the *shōyōyū* spirit, Bashō became increasingly concerned that too much conceptual implication might damage its vitality. He attempted to break from the "heaviness" by emphasizing naturalness and lightness. During this period, the Daoist ideas that had immense influence on the thematic characteristics of the school were widely applied in its theoretical discourse and, through the conscious assertion of Bashō, contributed significantly to its stylistic and theoretical developments.

Zōka as a Poetic Principle

Bashō taught extensively on *haikai,* but he left few theoretical writings. His critical concepts can be detected only through some brief excerpts in his *haibun,* diaries, and travel journals, or from his remarks recorded in his disciples' notes. Most of these concepts are difficult to translate into English. Even if some interpretive translations are made, they often appear obscure to modern readers, not only because these terms are not clearly defined, but also because many of them were derived from early Chinese and Japanese texts or based on complex cultural and intertextual contexts. As a result, the assessment of Bashō's *haikai* theory calls for an intertextual/intercultural examination. Bashō's famous statement on "following *zōka* and returning to *zōka*" *(zōka ni shitagai, zōka ni kaere)* is one such remark. Although the whole excerpt in *Oi no kobumi* is merely a few sentences, it is the most elaborate passage on *haikai* poetics written by Bashō himself.

As we saw in Chapter 1, as early as in Yamaoka Genrin's pioneering *haibun* anthology the concept of *zōka* already had been given fundamental importance in the creation of *haikai:* "If we trust all to the endless power of *zōka,*" Genrin writes, "heavens and earth themselves are the treasure house of *tsuki* (the moon) and *hana* (cherry blossoms)."[2] We have also seen that Bashō made the glorification of *zōka* a central theme of his travel journals. His statement cited above further asserts *zōka* as the general principle of *haikai* and all arts:

> Those who pursue art follow *zōka* and have the four seasons as their companions. Nothing they see is not a flower and nothing they imagine is not

> the moon. If one sees no flower, he is the same as a barbarian; if one has no moon in mind, he is no different from the birds and the beasts. Go beyond the barbarians and depart from animals; follow *zōka* and return to *zōka*.[3]

By saying that those who follow *zōka* see nothing but flowers and think of nothing but the moon, Bashō frames the grand premise that following *zōka* is the precondition of artistic perception: when one follows *zōka,* one has the artistic sensibility to capture beauty in everything. His call for "returning to *zōka*" further suggests that *zōka* is not only where artistic creativity begins but its ultimate attainment.

It needs to be reiterated that by *zōka* Bashō does not mean "nature," as it often has been used in the English translation of *Oi no kobumi,* but refers instead to a concept derived from the Daoist classics, in which *zaohua/zōka,* together with *ziran* (J. *shizen* or *ji'nen,* naturalness and spontaneity), designates the spontaneous operation of the *Dao,* and sometimes refers to the *Dao* itself. If the *Dao,* as Kristofer Schipper describes, is "something underlying the change and transformation of all beings, the spontaneous process regulating the natural cycle of the universe,"[4] then *zaohua* is this spontaneous process of creation and transformation, of which all things, including human beings, are an integral part. In Daoist discourse, the naturalness and spontaneity of *zaohua* is repeatedly emphasized, often along with *ziran,* which points to similar philosophical connotations. In Bashō's writings, the same Chinese compound (read as *shizen* or *ji'nen* in Japanese) implies a meaning identical to its Chinese counterpart in Daoist discourse. Bashō's use of the term in his early writings reflects a clear awareness of the literary significance of Daoist principles, and this awareness paved the way for his theoretical emphasis to "follow *zōka* and return to *zōka*" in his later years.

An early occurrence of *ji'nen* in Bashō's writings is found in "Eulogy on a *Kasen,*"[5] in which Bashō uses the term to praise a linked-verse sequence.

> The stormy wind from Pine Mountain in Iyo has blown upon the withered leaves of the Plantain Tree Hollow. Its sound sings poems. "Yeee!" The sounds of the tossing and trembling wind are like the jiggling of jade and the whistling of metals, sometimes strong and sometimes soft, bringing people to tears and touching man's heart. The meaning of each verse is distinct, as if ten thousand hollows are howling while each has a different sound—only such can be called an author of the piping of Heaven *(tenrai)* and spontaneity *(ji'nen).* The plantain leaves are torn, floating along the wind.[6]

This eulogy is a response to a *haikai* sequence sent to Bashō by a poet from Matsuyama (Pine Mountain) in the Iyo area. "Plantain Tree Hollow" is one of Bashō's literary names. The short prose piece strikes the reader with its unusual image and expressions, particularly the use of "the sounds of wind" as a metaphor for the superb quality of poetry and the juxtaposition of two *kanji* words, *tenrai* and *ji'nen*—"the piping of Heaven and spontaneity"—toward the end of the eulogy. But once we place this short quotation in the context of early Daoist sources, their implications are no longer ambiguous.[7]

At the beginning of the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* "Discussion on Making All Things Equal," we find very similar images and expressions in a dialogue between Nanguo Ziqi and Yancheng Ziyou:

> Ziqi of South Wall sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing—vacant and far away, as though he'd lost his companion. Yancheng Ziyou, who was standing by his side in attendance, said, "What is this? Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes? The man leaning on the armrest now is not the one who leaned on it before!"
>
> Ziqi said, "You do well to ask the question, Yan[cheng]. Now I have lost myself. Do you understand that? You hear the piping of men, but you haven't heard the piping of earth. Or if you've heard the piping of earth, you haven't heard the piping of Heaven!"
>
> Ziyou said, "May I venture to ask what this means?"
>
> Ziqi said, "The Great Clod belches out breath and its name is wind. So long as it doesn't come forth, nothing happens. But when it does, then ten thousand hollows begin crying wildly. Can't you hear them, long drawn out?...They roar like waves, whistle like arrows, screech, gasp, cry, wail, moan, and howl, those in the lead calling out yeee! Those behind calling out yuuu! In a gentle breeze they answer faintly, but in a full gale the chorus is gigantic. And when the fierce wind has passed on, then all the hollows are empty again. Have you never seen the tossing and trembling that goes on?"
>
> Ziyou said, "By the piping of earth, then you mean simply [the sound of] these hollows, and by the piping of man [the sound of] flutes and whistles. But may I ask about the piping of Heaven?"
>
> Ziqi said, "Blowing on the ten thousand things in a different way, so that each can be itself—all take what they want for themselves, but who does the sounding?"[8]

Part of this passage from the *Zhuangzi* has been cited in *haikai* literature since the first *haibun* anthology written by Genrin. While drawing upon

the *Zhuangzi* as an underlining *honzetsu* or canonical text like Genrin does in *Takaragura,* Bashō does not cite it word for word but borrows a whole set of imagery from the Daoist classic and blends it into figurative description. Having the *Zhuangzi* as an intertext, "withered leaves of the Plantain Tree Hollow" is not simply a humble expression Bashō uses to refer to himself, but also a carefully designed link between his poetic self and the Daoist sage Ziqi. The image "wind" is no ordinary natural phenomenon either. It suggests the breath of the Great Clod—a metaphorical depiction of the *Dao,* the universal Way of Daoist cosmology.

In the *Zhuangzi,* the Great Clod implies an undifferentiated state from which all things come into being. The breath it belches out, the *qi* (J. *ki*) or the wind, brings vitality to all things. Both *qi/ki* and the concept of an undifferentiated state, as we shall see later, play an instrumental role in Bashō's compositional poetics. The *Zhuangzi* tells us that when "the wind" blows upon things in the cosmos, it produces different kinds of sounds. Ordinary people usually discern the piping of man, such as the sounds of flutes and whistles, or maybe the piping of earth as well, such as the sounds in the hollows of the mountains and fields, but few can recognize the piping of Heaven, the natural and spontaneous expression of the *Dao* in all things.[9] The *Zhuangzi* does not use the term *"ziran"* in this passage, but its emphasis on the natural and the spontaneous as the paramount expression and fundamental characteristic of the *Dao* is implied through the long depiction of the wind and the key word *tianlai* (J. *tenrai,* the piping of Heaven). *Tian* (J. *ten,* Heaven), an important term in the *Zhuangzi,* also is a synonym for the *Dao*. It suggests what pertains to the natural as opposed to the artificial. Bashō's use of the terms *"tenrai"* and *"ji'nen"* in his eulogy to suggest supreme poetic quality demonstrates his belief in these Daoist presumptions.

Bashō's use of these Daoist concepts and terms as established criteria for judging poetry owes much to Lin Xiyi's annotation to the *Zhuangzi*. As mentioned earlier, Lin's interpretation of the *Zhuangzi* frequently employs the terms and notions of contemporary literary criticism and makes numerous references to celebrated poets and verses. This feature of Lin's text has contributed directly to the *haikai* poets' enduring interest in the *Zhuangzi;* it also drew Bashō's attention to the Daoist principles that have been widely applied in Chinese literary criticism. Regarding the passage about "the piping of Heaven," for instance, Lin has the following commentary:

> This paragraph is the best among the best writings. It is of paramount quality in the text. Not only in the text of the *Zhuangzi;* one cannot find

> this kind of writing in any other writer's works, ancient or present alike. When we say that "poetry is a painting that has sounds," we mean poetry can depict what is hard to portray. But who has ever seen a poet who can portray so vividly that it is as if there are real sounds coming out of the picture?[10]

Lin's praise of the *Zhuangzi* makes the text a model of literary writing that inspires Bashō to employ a number of sound images about the wind in his eulogy. More significant, Lin Xiyi in the same interpretation associates the term "piping of Heaven" with the notion of *zaohua* and *ziran*. He writes:

> While this paragraph talks about "the piping of earth," its spontaneous *(ziran)* sounds are nothing else but "the piping of Heaven." In this meaning, "the wind" cannot but come from *zaohau*. . . . "Blowing on the ten thousand things" explains why the ten thousand things have their own sounds. That the ten thousand things have their own sounds is because the agent of *zaohua (zaohuawu)* blows on them. The one who does the blowing is the agent of *zaohua (zaowu),* but it makes each sound by itself. "Blow" and "make" are the force of *zaohua*. "Take [what they want] for themselves" is to take by and from themselves. "All take what they want for themselves" means that the ten thousand things all think they are taking what they want by themselves, but don't know exactly who causes the move of *qi*.[11]

In these excerpts Lin Xiyi unifies the three key concepts under discussion: *ziran, tianlai,* and *zaohua*. Another term Lin Xiyi uses, *zaohuawu* (or *zaowu*), is translated as "the agent of *zaohua*" instead of the common translation "creator" here, because the connotation of the term is different from what "creator" means in English. *Zaohua* in Daoist discourse is neither a personified deity nor an intentional act of creation. As Stephen Owen puts it, "*zaohua* is not a purely voluntary making from some prior intent, but rather the initiation and continuous carrying out of structured change in the world."[12] Rather than the completed result, *zaohua* emphasizes the ongoing process of creation—in Zhuangzi's words, "the changes." According to the *Zhuangzi,* this changing process is the manifestation of the working of the *Dao,* and it is for everyone to follow: "Be content with what you are given and go along with the changes, and then you can enter the oneness of infinite Heaven."[13] Lin Xiyi notes: "Be content with what one is given and follow *zaohua,* then one enters the wonderful realm of *zaohua*. The 'oneness of infinite Heaven' means *zaohua*."[14]

As discussed earlier, "Heaven" *(tian),* which is interpreted by Lin Xiyi as *zaohua,* designates the Natural as opposed to the artificial in Daoist works. In fact, Lin Xiyi summarizes the thirty-three chapters of the *Zhuangzi* in one word: *ziran,*[15] and he integrates a group of key terms, such as *tian, tianlai, zaowuzhe* (the agent of *zaohua*), *ziran,* and *zaohua,* under the rubric of *ziran,* or the Natural. In this context, Lin's words "follow *zaohua,* then one enters the wonderful realm of *zaohua*" can be understood as "follow the Natural, then one enters the wonderful realm of the Natural." Given the salient similarity between Lin's statement and Bashō's "follow *zōka* and return to *zōka,*" it is not arbitrary to say that Bashō's statement is underpinned by the same philosophical and aesthetic assumptions. Indeed, "follow *zōka* and return to *zōka*" also calls for following the Natural and returning to the Natural. The statement summarizes not only Bashō's observation of the Japanese artistic tradition but also his understanding of an important part of Chinese tradition that is characteristically related to the Daoist principles.

In the discussion of other factors that might have contributed to Bashō's use of *zōka,* earlier Japanese scholarship has noted the possible influence of Song Confucian works and Japanese Confucian writings.[16] Nonomura, for example, investigated the use of *zōka* in the works of Confucian scholars during the Edo period and found that the Song Confucian concept of the term—*zaohua* as the creation and transformation of the cosmos—had a deep impact on Japanese Confucian writings and, through those works, left clear marks on Bashō's conception of *zōka.* Horikiri Minoru, on the other hand, examined the application of the concept in traditional Chinese and Japanese painting and its relationship with Bashō's idea of "following *zōka* and returning to *zōka.*"[17] Another important source that might have affected Bashō more directly in this regard is the legacy of Chinese poetry and poetics. As early as the third century, the terms *"zaohua"* and *"ziran"* had been employed in Chinese literary criticism, and there began a tradition in which the poetic creation was compared to the process of *zaohua,* and *ziran* was articulated as a poetic principle.[18] By the Tang and Song, *ziran* and *zaohua* had become common vocabulary in popular literary writings. In *Shiren yu xie,* for example, these terms occur frequently:

> Tao Qian's poetry is unreachable because it is at once limpidly simple and profound; it comes out of naturalness *(ziran).* Only after putting great effort into imitating him can one realize that it is not something achieved through craftsmanship.[19]

> Xie Lingyun (385–433) is inferior when compared with Tao Qian because Xie's poems are too refined in craftsmanship, while Tao's poems are simple and natural *(ziran)*.[20]

> Du Fu's poem is elegant and has a leisurely mood; it comes out of naturalness *(ziran)* and shows no trace of craftsmanship.[21]

> Li Bo's poem, "Singing of My Inner Feelings on a Night Spent at the Donglin Temple on Mount Lu," runs: ". . . The fragrance of Heaven comes from emptiness,/And the music of Heaven is ceaseless. . . ." I can imagine that in that quiet and beautiful realm, there must be natural, clear air, "the fragrance of Heaven," and spontaneous, pure sounds, "the music of Heaven." The magic sound is thus captured as the instrument of Heaven; the line also is from "the piping of Heaven." The conception comes naturally from the scene; it cannot be obtained by forced craft.[22]

Tao Qian, Li Bo, and Du Fu are among the Chinese poets Bashō admired most. The similarity between these comments and the Daoist vocabulary used in his remarks on *haikai* is significant. It is not coincidental that in a *haibun* written in his later years, Bashō once again used "the piping of Heaven" to designate superb poetic quality: "'Fūgen,' 'The Strings of Wind,' is neither a zither, nor a large harp; it needs no plectrum to play, nor does it need bridges. It can make music as the piping of Heaven, and never falls into a scale of worldly notes."[23] This *haibun* was written for Bashō's disciple Fūgen, a name that was based on the term "the piping of Heaven" and literally means "The Strings of Wind." Though a *haibun* of a complimentary nature, the prose conveys Bashō's aesthetic belief: a superlative poet does not depend on craftsmanship, nor does he follow established conventions; his art is as natural as "the strings of wind" and "the piping of Heaven." If in "Eulogy on a *Kasen*" Bashō still seems to be attracted more by the fascinating imagery of the *Zhuangzi,* this short *haibun* shows that his understanding of the same concept had attained a much deeper level.

The choice of the name Fūgen indicates how deeply Daoist concepts, such as *tenrai, zōka,* and *ji'nen,* affected the aesthetic preferences of the Shōmon poets. Another disciple of Bashō's, Takahashi Dosui, also derived his literary name from the same chapter of the *Zhuangzi.* The name "Dosui" consists of two characters from the sentence "who does the sounding" that appears at the end of the conversation between Ziqi and Ziyou cited earlier in this chapter. One of the extant letters Bashō wrote to Dosui indicates that in the early spring of 1691 Dosui was teaching the *Zhuangzi* to other Shōmon poets.[24] Another letter Bashō wrote at the

same period strongly encouraged the study of the *Zhuangzi* among *haikai* poets. "I am very glad to hear that you have studied about half of the 'Discussion on Making All Things Equal' of the *Zhuangzi,*" writes Bashō, "and I wish you more accomplishments in your study. The way of life and the way of *haikai* can also be made equal; in fact, they are inseparable."[25] This fusion of art and life reminds us of Bashō's assertion of one fundamental principle running through all arts in his *Oi no kobumi.* In both cases the poet returns to the *Zhuangzi* for rationale and inspiration. It has been suggested that Bashō's concept to "follow *zōka* and return to *zōka*" could well have taken form around the same time. One draft of "On the Unreal Dwelling," dated early autumn of 1690, a few months before the letter cited above, contains a similar passage about the "fundamental principle." The statement occurs in the last paragraph of the draft:

> I don't force myself to love idleness and solitude *(kanjaku),* yet I am like a sick man who is weary of people, or a person who is tired of the world. How is it so? I have not led a clerical life, nor have I engaged in worldly undertakings; I am neither benevolent nor righteous. Ever since I was very young I have liked my eccentric ways, and once I made them the source of a livelihood, only temporarily I thought, I couldn't put anything else in my mind and, incapable and talentless as I was, I have been bound to this single line of poetry. In the poetry of Saigyō and Sōgi, the painting of Sesshū, and the tea of Rikyū, despite the differences of their talents, the fundamental principle is one. Without knowing, the autumn has half passed as I was pressing my back, rubbing my belly, and making a wry face. Human life is also like this, short as a brief dream. Again, I feel this must be what is meant by dwelling in unreality.
>
> Let me stay for now
> where there is a pasania tree—
> the summer grove.
> *mazu tanomu/shiinoki mo ari/natsu kodachi*
>
> It doesn't look like
> they will die in a short time—
> the sounds of cicadas.
> *yagate shinu/keshiki mo miezu/semi no koe*[26]

Although in this paragraph Bashō does not mention what he means by "the fundamental principle," the similar wording points to his idea revealed in *Oi no kobumi.* Thus, from "Eulogy on a *Kasen,*" through "Essay in my Pannier," to "On the Unreal Dwelling" and "Written on the Literary Name of Fūgen," there is a consistent search for a universal principle, and

an increasing emphasis on the poetics of the Natural. Bashō's emphasis on the Natural as a poetic principle is reflected in many key notions of the Shōmon *haikai* theories, particularly the notions *fūga no makoto* (the sincerity of poetry) and *fueki ryūkō* (the unchanging and the fluid).

Fueki, Ryūkō, and *Fūga no makoto*

According to Kyorai, a major proponent of the Shōmon *haikai* theories, *fueki* (unchanging) and *ryūkō* (fluid) became important topics in the theoretical discussion of the Shōmon after Bashō's return from his journey to the far north.[27] He records:

> The Master said that some *haikai* styles remain unchanging for thousands of years while others are fluid with the passing of time. Although these two are spoken of as opposite sides, they are one at the base. "They are one at the base" means that both are based on the sincerity of poetry *(fūga no makoto)*. If one does not understand the unchanging, his poetry has no base; if one does not learn the fluid, his poetry has no novelty. He who truly understands the fluid will never stop moving forward. He who excels at a transitory fashion can only have his verse meet a momentary taste; once the fashion changes, he becomes stagnated.[28]

Hattori Dohō records a similar discussion in his *Sanzōshi:*

> The Master's poetry has both the unchanging *(fueki)* that remains for thousands of years and the ever-changing *(henka)* that lasts only momentarily. These two, in the final analysis, are one at the base. This "one at the base" is the sincerity of poetry *(fūga no makoto)*. If one does not understand what the unchanging is, one cannot understand the sincerity of poetry. The unchanging does not depend on the old or the new, nor is it affected by changes and fashions; it is firmly rooted in the sincerity of poetry.
>
> Looking at the poetry of poets from different generations, one finds it changes with each generation. Yet, there are many poems that stay beyond the old and the new, many poems that are as deeply touching to us as they were in the eyes of ancients. These belong to the unchanging poetry one should understand.
>
> On the other hand, it is the rule of the Natural *(ji'nen)* that everything undergoes countless changes and transformations. If *haikai* does not go through changes, it cannot be renewed. If one does not seek change, one can only gain popularity in a transitory fashion, but never reach the sincerity of poetry. Those who are not determined to pursue

> the sincerity of poetry cannot grasp the change rooted in it. They can only follow behind the footsteps of others. Those who pursue sincerity never stop at where they have arrived and naturally step forward. No matter how many changes and varieties *haikai* may have in the future, if it is change rooted in sincerity, it belongs to the Master's poetic tradition. The Master said: "Don't ever lick the dregs of the ancients. All things constantly renew themselves as the shifts of four seasons, and this is true of *haikai*."[29]

Although *fueki* and *ryūkō* in Kyorai's passage speak of two different styles, and *fueki* and *henka* in Dohō's *Sanzōshi* refer to two essential aspects of Bashō's poetry, they share basic presumptions. Both assume that a binary construction resides in poetic creation consisting of something constant and something fluid, and that the binary aspects are unitarily based on the "sincerity of poetry." About "the sincerity of poetry," Dohō writes:

> *Kanshi, waka, renga,* and *haikai* are all poetry, but *haikai* composes on all things, including exhaustively things the first three forms don't deal with. The warbler singing among the cherry blossoms in classical poetry, for example, is portrayed by *haikai* as "excreting on the rice cake on the edge of the veranda"—it captures the touching present moment of the first month. Also, the frog dwelling in water is depicted in *haikai* through the sounds of the water when a frog jumps into an ancient pond. It is in the sound made by a frog leaping into a pond from wild grasses that we hear the voice of *haikai*. *Haikai* exists in what one sees and what one hears. The sincerity of *haikai* is to put what a poet feels directly into verse.[30]

As such, the sincerity of *haikai* lies in natural and spontaneous poetic expression rather than in encoded meaning and artificial craftsmanship. Kyorai also articulated the same idea: "'Poem that remains unchanging' refers to the type of *haikai* that does not seek particular fancifulness. Precisely because it does not seek momentary fancifulness, it meets the tastes of both the past and the present."[31] Kyorai's interpretation that the "unchanging" comes from a quality free of craftsmanship or faddism is consistent with Bashō's aesthetic preference during this period. However, Kyorai's elaboration of *ryūkō,* which literally means "flowing," is rather problematic. Unlike Dohō, who interprets *henka* or ever-changing as a rule of the Natural, Kyorai mixes *ryūkō* with transitory fashions, saying that "a poem that is fluid prevails because it seeks certain fancifulness."[32] This confusion comes from his seeing "the unchanging" and "the

fluid" as different styles rather than as inseparable aspects of a unity. Kyorai must have misinterpreted Bashō's original teaching on this point, for his interpretation apparently also contradicts his own citation of Bashō's words. If we are to follow his argument, *fueki* and *ryūkō* cannot be "one at the base," which conflicts with what Bashō repeatedly stressed. Interestingly, however, when asked to explain the Master's idea that *fueki* and *ryūkō* share one base, Kyorai gives a metaphorical description based on a Daoist norm, *mui* (C. *wuwei;* literally, inaction). "*Fueki* can be compared to a person of inaction," he says, "*ryūkō* is like a person in different forms—sitting and lying down, walking and stopping, bending and stretching, looking down and up—all are momentary changes. Although the form changes from time to time, to be inactive and to have movements are originally the same person."[33]

Mui, or *wuwei,* which is often used together with *ziran* in Daoist classics, designates the essential state of being natural and is applied in Chinese literary criticism to emphasize noninterference with intuitive contemplation and natural expression. Kyorai's enunciation of *fueki* through *mui,* though not a faithful explanation of the Daoist term, offers a clue to the sources from which the Shōmon poets sought the philosophical basis of their *haikai* theory. In his discussion of the relationship between the unchanging and the ever-changing, Dohō also employs a pair of terms that recur in Daoist texts: "The Master said: 'The changes of Heaven and earth are the seeds of poetry.' What is still is the stance of unchanging *(fuhen).* What is in motion is change *(hen).*"[34] Kyorai compares *fueki* and *ryūkō* to inaction and movement; Dohō defines *fuhen* and *hen* as "what is still" and "what is in motion." Both pairs of terms find their parallels in the *Zhuangzi.*[35]

> So it is said, Limpidity, silence, emptiness, inaction—these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue. . . .
>
> So it is said, With the sage, his life is the working of Heaven, his death the transformation of things. In stillness, he and the yin share a single Virtue; in motion, he and the yang share a single flow.[36]

> It is the nature of water that if it is not mixed with other things, it will be clear, and if nothing stirs it, it will be level. But if it is dammed and hemmed in and not allowed to flow, then, too, it will cease to be clear. As such, it is a symbol of Heavenly Virtue. So it is said, To be pure, clean, and mixed with nothing; still, unified, and unchanging; limpid and inactive; moving with the workings of Heaven—this is the way to care for the spirit.[37]

Here we see similar groupings of terms and images: the *Zhuangzi* characterizes "Heavenly Virtue" as still, inactive, and unchanging, and "the working of Heaven" as the flow of water, in motion and moving; it defines unchanging stillness and fluid movement as unified and mutually dependent—failing to keep up with either one means the loss of the substance of the Way. It warrants our particular attention that in Zhuangzi's discussions of the binary construction of the *Dao,* limpidity, naturalness, and inaction are fundamental and are given the highest aesthetic value. In the same chapter from which the above excerpts are drawn, the author writes:

> To be lofty without striving sedulously; to be moral without adopting benevolence and righteousness; to achieve good order without exploits or fame; to enjoy leisure without the rivers and seas; to attain long life without induction; to forget everything, and yet possess everything: stay in illimitable limpidity, where all kinds of beauty come to you—this is the *Dao* of Heaven and earth, the Virtue of the sage.[38]

As seen in the discussion of Onitsura in the second chapter of this book, "the *Dao* of Heaven and earth" in the *Zhuangzi* is also termed the "sincerity of Heaven and earth."[39] The Daoist classic compares the state of attaining the "sincerity of Heaven and earth" to an "uncarved block" or a piece of "raw silk," and considers it the most beautiful: "Resting in inaction, you will be honored; of unwrought simplicity, your beauty will be such that no one in the world may vie with you."[40] These words of the *Zhuangzi,* whose literary elaborations had long been influential in Chinese literary criticism, provided an instructive frame of reference, not only for the peculiar terminology and discourse surrounding *fueki ryūkō* and *fūga no makoto,* but also for Bashō's cardinal statement, to "follow *zōka* and return to *zōka.*" *Fueki* and *ryūkō* represent the dialectic aspects of Bashō's poetics of the Natural, which constitutes the substance of the "sincerity of poetry." The ambiguous terms Kyorai and Dohō use, in this context, are logically meaningful: "inaction" and "stillness" designate the constant principle of the Natural and the noninterference with its expression in poetic creation, and "movement" and "motion" the adherence to the ever-changing nature of the universe and to its novel manifestations in poetry. In the words of Morikawa Kyoriku, another major disciple of Bashō, "The unchanging can be constant because it has no conceit; the style of 'the changing' varies along with the years and the months."[41]

By introducing these dialectic notions into *haikai* theories, Bashō and his followers sought a balance between continuity and renewal, profundity and novelty. Dohō illustrates the relationship and difference of

the two aspects by alluding to the following verses by Bashō: "The novelty of *haikai* occurs only when one seeks constancy and naturally progresses from there. 'The harvest moon/the fog at the mountain foot—/mists over the field' belongs to the style of the unchanging, while 'as blossoms from the harvest moon—/the cotton field' demonstrates novelty."[42] These two verses were written in 1694. The complete poems read as follows:

> The harvest moon
> and the fog at the mountain foot—
> mists over the field.
> *meigetsu ni/fumoto no kiri ya/ta no kumori*

> As if blossoms have
> fallen from the harvest moon—
> the cotton field.
> *meigetsu no/hana ka to miete/watabatake*[43]

While both poems depict the view under the harvest moon, the first one is a simple and straightforward portrait, which Dohō describes as "the style of the unchanging." The second uses explicit symbols. It gives the traditional poetic images, the moon and the flower, fresh significance. Instead of using *hana* in its conventional way to mean cherry blossoms specifically as a seasonal word for spring, here it describes the beautiful whiteness of cotton bolls reflecting the bright light of the harvest moon, an image that traditionally signifies the autumn season. The presentation of the moon in the second poem also departs from its conventional *hon'i:* while portraying the harvest moon, the poetic vision focuses, not on the moon, nor on its surroundings, but on the cotton field on the earth. It heightens the charm and miraculous power of the moonlight through its reflection on the cotton, which had not been considered a poetic image in classical tradition. Despite these novel conceptions, the verse shows no trace of striving for ingenuity. The images naturally evoke an autumn moonlight view and the beholder's feeling. This kind of novelty out of naturalness is the variety that Bashō wished to pursue: change that shares the same base with constancy.

Ki, the Undifferentiated State of Mind, and the *Zhuangzi*

The Daoist impact on Bashō's *haikai* theories is also seen in his discussion on the simplicity and naturalness of the poetic mind. Dohō recalls in his *Sanzōshi:*

> Accomplished poets tend to have flaws. The Master often said: "Let an innocent child make *haikai.* The verse from a novice's mind is most promising." These words warn us of the habitual flaws of accomplished writers. When getting into the substance of an object, one either cultivates the primal breath *(ki)* or suppresses it. If one suppresses the momentum of the primal breath, the whole poem will lose vitality. The late Master also said: "*haikai* must be composed on the momentum of the primal breath."[44]

"Primal breath" is only an approximate translation of the term *ki* (C. *qi*), which has been translated variously as "breath," "spirit," and "energy" in English. In the Daoist epistemology it refers to a kind of fluid substratum of the cosmos and all phenomena. The phrase "Let an innocent child compose *haikai,*" according to Shida Yaba (1662–1740), another disciple of Bashō, indicates a preference for a pure mental state valued by the *Zhuangzi:* "Master Bashō said: 'Make *haikai* composition a child's play.' That is to say, the poet's mind should be like that of Zhuangzi. He emphasized: 'In order to compose *haikai,* one should read the *Zhuangzi* carefully, and make the poem like the *Zhuangzi.*'"[45] The image of an innocent child or a newborn baby is a metaphor used frequently in Daoist classics. It originally appeared in the *Laozi* to describe a mental state of purity and simplicity. The *Laozi* uses both "newborn baby" and "primal breath" to describe the natural state of mind that springs from apprehending the *Dao:* "Concentrating your primal breath and attaining suppleness, can you be like a newborn baby? Purifying your mind and observing in darkness, can you leave no blemish?"[46]

The *Zhuangzi* also uses "child" as a metaphor to suggest the purity and simplicity achieved through being one with the *Dao,* or the Way of the Natural. These texts form the theoretical basis of Bashō's teachings to "let an innocent child make *haikai*" and "make the poem like the *Zhuangzi.*" In addition, Bashō's ideas also have parallels in the popular anthologies and handbooks on Chinese poetry, in which the term *qi* is widely used. Among the Chinese books Bashō read, *Shiren yu xie,* for example, contains the following passage from *Baishi Daoren shi shuo* (Master Baishi's remarks on poetry):[47]

> Poems all have their innate image of the primal breath *(qixiang),* their own form and complexion, their natural veins, and their unique tone. If one tries to make the image of the primal breath undifferentiated and vigorous, it will become uncouth; if one tries to make the form and complexion look grand, it will appear arrogant. Similarly, forcing a verse to

> be well-veined will deprive it of its overtone, and forcing the tone to be loftily aloof only sounds frivolous.[48]

These comments were written as a reaction to a long period of emphasis on allusions and craftsmanship among poets of the early Song dynasty. The author's calling for attention to overemphasis on artifice, particularly the "habitual flaws" of the "accomplished poets,"[49] resembles Bashō's theoretical concerns. The author terms the natural quality of a poem an "innate image of the primal breath." He stresses that maintaining this natural image of the primal breath is not only important as the resultant quality, but also essential to the poetic mind. It merits our attention that a poem with an undifferentiated and vigorous image of "primal breath" is considered supreme, and this image has to be the natural manifestation of the poetic mind, for "ornamenting and polishing damage the primal breath,"[50] and creating such an image artificially only brings adverse results.

It needs to be pointed out that the term *qi* is used widely in Chinese texts, not only in Daoist works, but also in Buddhist and Confucian ones. It would be arbitrary to say that the philosophical basis of these poetic remarks is exclusively Daoist. Nevertheless, in the discussions of Chinese poetry that interested Bashō, Daoist influence was no doubt the most prominent. In fact, the undifferentiated and vigorous image of the primal breath as an established value in *Shiren yu xie* owes much to the *Zhuangzi.* The following excerpt from *Shiren yu xie,* for instance, refers to a *yuyan/gūgen* in the *Zhuangzi* to enunciate how artifice damages the natural and undifferentiated quality of poetry. "In regard to literary writings, those that are natural and have rich overtones are superior, while those whose expressions are shattered and ornate are inferior. As seen in the Xikun style of Yang Yi,[51] it is not that his writing is bad, but there is too much artifice, as it is said [in the *Zhuangzi*], 'on the seventh day Hundun died.'"[52] Hundun, the fictional emperor of the central region in the *Zhuangzi,* is a metaphorical image for the natural and the primal. The name in Chinese implies undifferentiated, unformed, and infinite. The *Zhuangzi* relates:

> The emperor of the South Sea was called Shu [Brief], the emperor of the North Sea was called Hu [Sudden], and the emperor of the central region was called Hundun [Chaos]. Shu and Hu from time to time came together for a meeting in the territory of Hundun, and Hundun treated them very generously. Shu and Hu discussed how they could repay his kindness. "All men," they said, "have seven openings so they can see,

> hear, eat, and breathe. But Hundun alone doesn't have any. Let's try boring him some!"
>
> Every day they bored another hole, and on the seventh day Hundun died.[53]

The meaning of the *gūgen* is overt: artifice destroys the vitality that exists only in the original nature of things and beings. This implication, as shown in the excerpts from *Shiren yu xie,* has been widely applied in Chinese literary criticism. The *gūgen* about "Hundun" and its application in Chinese poetics no doubt deeply interested Bashō and his disciples, for as early as the late 1670s, allusions to this *gūgen* appeared in several of their verses.[54] Bashō himself also wrote a poem about Hundun:

> The Undifferentiated
> riding on the green-hued air,
> wanders in the atmosphere.
> *Nupeppō/midori ni norite/ki ni asobu*[55]

In this poem, "The Undifferentiated" is depicted as an image of carefree wandering. Although the allusion in this poem, as well as in other poems of the period, shows mainly a thematic interest in the *gūgen,* the Shōmons' early knowledge of the Hundun story presages a later theoretical emphasis on the "primal breath" and the "undifferentiated" state of the poetic mind. Kyorai reports the following remarks Bashō made in his late years when teaching *haikai* composition:

> *Haikai* should be composed with an undifferentiated state of mind, following the momentum of primal breath.[56]
>
> Talking about *haikai* of our time, one should accumulate training in daily practices. When composing a poem, just let the momentum of the primal breath lead one's utterance.[57]
>
> Speaking of *haikai,* the undifferentiated verses are of high quality.[58]

The "undifferentiated" quality articulated by Bashō refers both to the natural state of the poetic mind and to its configuration in verse. Bashō's valuing the novice's mind over that of an accomplished poet is not to negate skills in general, but to prevent subjective tendencies and excessive craftsmanship from damaging the naturalness of a poem. Bashō made it imperative that in composing a poem one must maintain the "undifferentiated" state of mind and let the "primal breath" lead the utterance. He

elsewhere describes such operations of the poetic mind as "staying in emptiness *(kyo)* while wandering freely in substance *(jitsu),* or to perceive substance by entering emptiness."[59]

Kyo, the Fasting of the Mind, and the *Zhuangzi*

The concepts *kyo* and *jitsu* were first brought into Japanese literary theory by Kūkai in the ninth century to imply fabrication versus verisimilitude and falsehood versus truth. The Danrin School used the paired concepts to mean "falsehood" and "truth" in their interpretation of Zhuangzi's *gūgen.* The Danrins' usage of the terms to a certain extent influenced Bashō, and his early poetic remarks also took the two concepts as rhetorical devices, although he emphasized that both *kyo* and *jitsu* must achieve the effect to convey truth. Along with the formation of his notion to "follow *zōka* and return to *zōka,*" Bashō came to use *kyo* to denote the emptiness of the mind as the essential condition of artistic perception and expression, and *jitsu* as the substance of the object treated. Although Bashō does not mention clearly what the relationship is between "emptiness" and the "primal breath" and why they can lead to supreme poetic expression, his statements have rich references in the *Zhuangzi,* and a comparative reading of his *haikai* remarks and the Daoist text yields helpful insights into his poetics. In the following paragraph, the *Zhuangzi* uses both primal breath and emptiness to discuss the Daoist way of cognition:

> Listen not with your ears but with your mind. Listen not with your mind but with your primal breath. The ears are limited to listening, the mind is limited to tallying. The primal breath, however, awaits things emptily. It is only through the Way that one can gather emptiness, and emptiness is the fasting of the mind.[60]

Lin Xiyi annotates this classical statement:

> If one listens with the ears, the listening is limited to the outside. If one listens with the mind, the listening is limited to the self. If one listens with primal breath, there is no limitation. If one listens with the ears, it stops at the ears and does not enter the mind. If one listens with the mind, there must be some outer things that respond to the self, then the outer object and the self form two opposites. The primal breath follows the Natural and awaits things with emptiness. Being empty is the attainment of the *Dao.* Emptiness is where the *Dao* exists. Therefore, the

> *Zhuangzi* says, "It is only through the Way that one can gather emptiness." The "emptiness" is the fasting of the mind (*xinzhai*).[61]

According to Lin's notes, "emptiness" as the mental condition of apprehending the *Dao* designates a state totally free of subjectivity. An important path toward this state is to let the natural substratum—the primal breath—lead contemplation and expression. The *Zhuangzi* affirms that supreme cognition occurs when one has completely eliminated subjectivity and let the self become one with the cosmos:

> He sees in the darkest dark, hears where there is no sound. In the midst of darkness, he alone sees the dawn; in the midst of the soundless, he alone hears harmony. Therefore, in depth piled upon depth he can spy out the thing; in spirituality piled upon spirituality he can discover the essence.[62]

The basic ideas in the above excerpts are relevant to Bashō's discourses on the operation of the poetic mind. The *Zhuangzi* emphasizes that the human mind and senses have limitations; hence, they are not reliable and are even impedimental to the apprehension of the *Dao*. In addition, the *Dao* gathers in emptiness alone, and therefore the precondition of attaining the *Dao* is the fasting of the mind. Moreover, in the emptiness of the mind, the "primal breath" works as an operating connection between the individual and the cosmos. Being empty and natural, the "primal breath" is limitless. In other words, with primal breath leading perception and expression through emptiness, or the absence of subjectivity, one can discover and reveal the essence of all things.

These basic points made by the *Zhuangzi* explain Bashō's assertion to follow the "momentum of the primal breath" and "to perceive substance by entering emptiness." They are also illustrative of Dohō's words cited earlier: "When getting into the substance of an object, one either cultivates the primal breath or suppresses it. If one suppresses the momentum of the primal breath, the whole poem will lose vitality." Dohō's discussion of the issue is in fact based on Bashō's teachings. In *Sanzōshi,* he writes:

> The Master's teaching is all about awakening to the lofty and returning to the common. That is, to constantly pursue the sincerity of poetry and return to the *haikai* we compose everyday. Those who always adhere to [the sincerity of] poetry have the original color of their mind naturally manifest in the form of poetry. Therefore, their composition is natural and never constrained with artifice. When the original color of the mind

> is not beautiful, one tends to make artificial effort on superfacial expressions. It is a reflection of the vulgarity of a mind that does not make constant effort to seek the sincerity of poetry.
>
> ....
>
> The Master has said: "Learn about pine from pines and learn about bamboo from bamboos." By these words he is teaching us to eradicate subjectivity. One will end up learning nothing with one's subjective self even if one wants to learn. To learn means to enter the object, to find its subtle details and empathize with it, and let what is experienced become poetry. For instance, if one has portrayed the outer form of an object but failed to express the feelings that flow naturally out of it, the object and the author's self become two, so the poem cannot achieve sincerity. It is merely a product of subjectivity.[63]

The main points made in the passage—the unification of external objects and the self, the identification of the poet and the object, and the elimination of subjectivity—find their philosophical basis in the *Zhuangzi,* specifically in the concepts of "making all things equal," "the fasting of the mind," and "dealing with things through emptiness."[64] Another important concept of the *Zhuangzi* that is relevant here is the "transformation with things" *(wuhua).*[65] As discussed earlier, the unity of the self and the cosmos is a fundamental argument of the *Zhuangzi.* One way to achieve this unity, according to the *Zhuangzi,* is to forget (C. *wang;* J. *wasure*) the self and enter the course of nature, or, in Daoist terms, the course of Heaven and earth. The *Zhuangzi* says: "To forget things and forget Heaven is called a forgetter of self. One who has forgotten one's self can be said to have entered Heaven."[66] Obviously, the emblematic expression "entering Heaven" means to attain the *Dao* and, because the *Dao* is manifested in the very nature of each being, to attain the *Dao* also means to join with things. One *yuyan/gūgen* in the *Zhuangzi* relates: "Mr. Ranxiang held on to the empty socket and followed along to completion.[67] Joining with things, he knew no end, no beginning, no year, no season. And because he changed day by day with things, he was one with the man who never changes—so why should he ever try to stop doing this?"[68] Here again the argument is based on a dialectic construction: by joining with the changes of all things, one can attain the unchanging. The idea the *Zhuangzi* asserts here—that emptying one's mind and transforming in harmony with things will lead to limitlessness—has helped to form an important stream of literary thought that emphasizes intuitive contemplation in artistic perception and identification of the self with external objects in artistic expression. The third-century Chi-

nese writer Lu Ji (261–303), for example, drew promisingly on the Daoist ideas in his *Wen fu* (The poetic exposition on literature). The speaker explains that, prior to literary creation, the poetic mind has to join with nature. Once the compositional process begins, "He ceases his seeing and reverses his listening,/Thinking in depth and searching around;/His essence gallops to the eight extremes of the world,/His spirit wanders high to ten thousand yards." And as he finally writes things down, "He empties the limpid mind, fixes his thoughts,/Fuses all his concerns together and makes words."[69]

To Lu Ji, the ideal condition for composition is a vacancy of mind and oneness with nature. Literary conceptions, according to him, are born from the "observation in darkness" of the cosmos—an idea borrowed from the *Zhuangzi*—and from moving along with its changing process. In other words, literary creation is based on the unity of the poetic mind and the cosmos. According to Nieda Tadashi, evidence shows that Bashō read *Wen xuan,* which contains Lu Ji's *Wen fu.*[70] Whether or not Bashō's remarks were inspired by Lu Ji, his basic stance is clearly similar. In fact, from Lu Ji's time onward, Daoist notions such as emptiness of the mind, primal breath, and transformation with things became commonly used in Chinese literary writings, and Bashō could have derived these ideas from many Chinese sources. By the Song dynasty these notions were already so conventionalized in literary criticism that Lin Xiyi in his annotations drew from the usage of these concepts in Chinese poetry to enunciate Zhuangzi's relevant points. One example is his explanation of a *gūgen* in the "Tian Zifang" chapter of the *Zhuangzi.* The *gūgen* tells about an artist who, when summoned by the ruler, ignores material preparations for painting. Returning to his own quarters, he sits there naked. Lin Xiyi explains: "This anecdote shows that the man has no concern for rational knowledge—he is a true artist. Su Shi's depiction of the bamboo painter and the poem describing Du Fu, 'He wields his writing brush only when his spirit is in tranquility and his mind still,' suggest a similar meaning."[71] The verse about Du Fu is by Wang Anshi (1021–1086), which contains a couplet: "He wields his writing brush only when his spirit is in tranquility and his mind still,/And uncompromisingly he competes with Heaven's working." In praising Du Fu's poem, Wang emphasizes that the stillness of mind is an essential condition for outstanding artistic creation—an assumption similar to what is articulated by the *Zhuangzi.* Su Shi's depiction of the bamboo painter refers to Su's poem "Shu Chao Buzhi suo cang Yuke hua zhu san shou" (Three poems on Yuke's painting of bamboos in Chao Buzhi's collection).[72] Su writes in the poem:

When Yuke[73] paints bamboos,
He sees only the bamboos, not himself.
Not only seeing no self,
Vacantly and far away, he loses the self:[74]
The self transforms with the bamboos,
Endlessly creating pure novelty.
Since Zhuangzi is no longer in this world,
Who understands such spiritual concentration?[75]

As we have seen in early chapters, the words of the *Zhuangzi* quoted in the poem, "vacantly and far away, he loses the self," are also repeatedly cited by the *haikai* poets. What is worthy of particular mention, however, is that this poem is cited not only in Lin Xiyi's *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* but also in a Japanese annotation of Lin Xiyi's explanation of the *Zhuangzi, Sōji shō* (Notes on the *Zhuangzi*).[76] The relevant excerpts in the *Sōji shō* are as follows:

> [The *Zhuangzi:*] Ziqi of South Wall rested his elbow on the armrest, looked up at the sky and exhaled—vacantly and far away, as though he'd lost the counterpart of himself.
> [Lin Xiyi:] "Vacantly and far away" describes the emptiness of his mind. "As though he'd lost the counterpart of himself" means that while people all take outer things and self as two opposites, he alone has forgotten it.
>
> [The annotation in *Sōji shō:*] Su Dongpo's poem on the bamboo painter says: "When Yuke paints bamboos,/He sees only the bamboos, not himself./Not only seeing no self,/Vacantly and far away, he loses the self:/The self transforms with the bamboos,/Endlessly creating pure novelty./Since Zhuangzi is no longer in this world,/Who understands such spiritual concentration?" "Vacantly and far away" in Su's poem uses the words that appear in Lin's annotation.[77] "He has lost the counterpart of himself" is speaking of *butsuga* (C. *wu wo,* object and self). *Butsu* (C. *wu*) refers to things other than self, and *ga* (C. *wo*) is self. When the so-called "self" exists, it has bounded its oppositions; once there is "right," there has to be "wrong."[78]

This citation of Su's poem by the Japanese annotator appears in a place where Lin Xiyi does not mention the poem at all. The Japanese annotator appeared to be very confident that his audience would know what he was speaking of, and he did not provide any background information here. This evidence shows that in Bashō's time Japanese readers were very familiar with the connections between the canonical arguments of the

Zhuangzi and Chinese poetry. This familiarity underlies the similarity between Su's poem and Bashō's statements on the artistic creation of bamboo, and it is not an overstatement to say that Bashō's knowledge of the Daoist tenets adapted in Chinese poetry contributed to his notion to "learn about pine from pines and learn about bamboo from bamboos." In fact, to "learn about pine from pines" concisely summarizes Bashō's poetics of the Natural. He believes that in order to achieve the "sincerity of poetry," one must eliminate subjectivity and "enter the object" one deals with. If the object and the self stand as two, the composition would result, as Dohō reiterates in his *Sanzōshi,* in "merely a product of subjectivity."

Awakening to the Lofty and Returning to the Common

With a theoretical concern for restoring naturalness, Bashō encouraged his disciples to shake off the heavy yoke of conceptual conventions by awakening to the lofty and returning to the common, or by attaining the high and perceiving through the low. "The common" and "the low" in this pair of dialectic concepts do not mean "obscene" or "inferior." They denote the ordinary and the primary: the common life, the immediate reality, the daily poetic practice, and the down-to-earth language that characterize *haikai* as a form of popular poem. "Awakening to the lofty" also means to seek the spirit of the ancients, to share their aesthetic experiences, and to join their poetic dialogues that transcend space and time. "The spirit of the ancients," in Bashō's vocabulary, is significantly linked to the *fengliu/fūryū* tradition. In the following passage, reportedly from Bashō, the aesthetic elements *sekibaku* (tranquility and solitude), *fūryū,* and *fūkyō* are spoken of in conjunction with "the high" and "the low":

> *Haikai* has three elements. *Sekibaku* is its mood. While having fine dishes and beautiful women, one finds true joy in humble solitude. *Fūryū* is its quality. While dressed in brocaded silks and satins, one does not forget those who are wrapped in woven straw. *Fūkyō* is its language. One's language should stem from emptiness and represent the substance of things. It is very difficult to stay with the substance of things while joining in emptiness. These three elements don't imply that a person who is "low" aspires to the high, but rather that a person who has attained the high perceives through the low.[79]

Here again the theorization is built upon a pair of dialectic principles: only by attaining the high can one discover the lofty in the com-

mon and express the high through the low; and only by returning to the common can one truly achieve and manifest the high through *haikai* language and imagination. Similar ideas about the uniformity of the higher truth and the common existence are also found in the *Zhuangzi* and in popular Chinese poetry books such as *Shiren yu xie*. The *Zhuangzi* stresses that the *Dao* exists in all things; as a famous *gūgen* relates, the *Dao* exists in the ant, in the panic grass, in the tiles and shards, and even in piss and shit.[80] Similarly, *Shiren yu xie* says, "In enlightened eyes, there is no commonness that is not truth, while in worldly eyes, there is no truth that is not common."[81] Bashō's "returning to the common" is in this context consistent with his returning to *zōka,* or the *Dao*. It was his continued effort to transform *haikai* to a high art while maintaining its identity as a popular poetic genre. This stance is clearly reflected in his poetry of the 1690s. The following *hokku* demonstrates Bashō's effort to seek beauty through ordinary things.

> Under the tree
> the soup and the fish salad,
> or cherry blossoms?
> *ki no moto ni/shiru mo namasu mo/sakura kana*[82]

In this poem Bashō creates a deliberate confusion between elegant cherry blossoms—the high—and food from everyday life—the common. According to Dohō, when composing this poem, Bashō said: "Recently I had a new idea on the topic of viewing cherry blossoms. I called it lightness *(karumi)*."[83] Indeed, "lightness" through plain language and common imagery exemplifies Bashō's later style, as can be seen in the following verse written in 1692.

> The salted bream
> Look cold, even to their gums,
> On the fishmonger's shelf.
> *shiodai no/haguki mo samushi/uo no tana*[84]

To illustrate his new style, Bashō compared this verse to a poem written by Kikaku: "Hoarse cries—/the monkey's teeth appear white/the moon above the peak" *(koe karete/saru no ha shiroshi/mine no tsuki)*. Bashō commented: "'The monkey's teeth look white—/the moon above the peak' belongs to Kikaku. The poem on the salted bream's gums is typical of the style of my old age. These lines are followed by a plain ending, 'the fishmonger's shelf,' which also is my kind of expression."[85] A conven-

tional topic in classical Chinese poetry, a monkey's cry typically evokes the loneliness of a traveler. The lonesome moon above the peak and the monkey's cry in Kikaku's poem create an extremely solitary atmosphere and an impressive visual association. However, Kikaku's conception is based on existing conventions, and the classical image of a monkey's cries deprives the verse of naturalness. Bashō's poem, on the other hand, focuses on the most ordinary object and experience in daily life and presents it in down-to-earth language. Yet, within the commonness, one senses an unforced power. The coldness pervading the tableau is subtly but effectively conveyed through humor. The following poem by Bashō also creates an unforgettable effect through very simple and unrefined images:

> A warbler
> excreting on a rice cake
> on the veranda.
> *uguisu ya/mochi ni funsuru/en no saki*[86]

In classical Japanese poetry, a warbler has always been portrayed as singing gracefully amid the cherry blossoms. Although the combination of the warbler and the cherry blossoms is not necessarily unnatural as a scenic view, such an association in Japanese poetry has become a fossil-like cliché that prevents the spontaneous utterance of the poetic mind. Through an unconventional *haikai* image, the bird's excreting, Bashō's verse breaks drastically with the convention and discovers poetry in the natural and the low. Concerning this poem, Bashō wrote to one of his disciples, Sanpū: "This poem shows what I have been working on lately."[87] The master's new poetic ideal in this poem had a deep impact on his disciples, as Yaba wrote:

> I am utterly impressed by the exceptionally wonderful combination of the warbler and the rice cake. I don't think one can find any other verse like this. The effect cannot be achieved without the words "excreting on a rice cake." The juxtaposition is so magically marvelous that it can only be compared to the masterpiece of the Natural. There may be more combinations like the warbler and rice cake later, but we will never see a line like "excreting on a rice cake." In these words lies the soul of the poem.[88]

The soul of the poem embodied in these unrefined words, needless to say, is a spontaneous utterance of the poetic mind and an unpretentious depiction of common life. The naturalness upon which Bashō insisted is

reflected not only in his use of "low" images, but also in his infusion of novelty *(atarashimi)* into traditional poetic diction and images by combining the elegant with the mundane. The following verse on chrysanthemums, for example, literally places the heavily loaded conventional image in a quotidian "run-of-the-mill" scene.

Winter chrysanthemums
covered by the rice bran
beside the hand mill.
kangiku ya/konuka no kakaru/usu no hata[89]

The juxtaposition of two or more images and topics in an opening verse is a typical structure of Shōmon *haikai* and is termed *toriawase* (combination). Bashō once said: "One should know that *hokku* is a construction of combination. Combinations that come from conventional themes are rarely superior; they are mostly stale."[90] The *hokku* above testifies to Bashō's conviction and sets chrysanthemums outside the conventional periphery of associations: instead of suggesting elegance or the life of a recluse, as seen in Bashō's earlier *haibun* on his plantain hut that imitates Tao Qian's poetry, here chrysanthemums are accompanied by a "hand mill," an extremely common item in an ordinary person's life in Bashō's time. To achieve novelty and naturalness through unconventional combinations was an important technique Bashō used in his last years; by so doing he shook off the heavy conceptual meanings the old traditions had loaded upon poetic images and brought them back to a natural lightness.

Lightness, Forgetting, and Naturalness Achieved

The term *karumi,* or lightness, was seen in *renga* treatises before Bashō, but medieval *renga* masters mostly used it to discuss the mental relaxation of beginners.[91] Bashō used *karumi* on a much broader scale, not only as a compositional principle for the Shōmon poets, whether novice or skilled, but also as an approach to renew *haikai* in general. Kyorai once wrote: "The reason that the Master emphasized *karumi* in his teaching at that time was to break the heaviness of *haikai.* Only with 'lightness,' could we get rid of the heftiness of the lingering flaws."[92] The hefty flaws that *karumi* was meant to address, as Ogata pointed out, were three major tendencies: *furubi,* or classicism in *haikai* in general, including the Shōmon *haikai* in the 1680s; *keiki,* or the landscape style that rep-

resented a return to the classical *waka* and *renga* style in the beginning of the Genroku period; and *tentori haikai,* or the point-garnering *haikai* that focused on technical competition.[93] Parting company with these tendencies, Bashō used *karumi* to characterize a natural style free of these flaws. Bashō in his last years applied the term widely in his discussions of the poetic mind, style, and compositional process, and as the method of linking in a *haikai* sequence.

To attain an ideal state of the poetic mind, *karumi* means to remove conceptual heaviness and to let intuitive perception and contemplation lead composition. In this sense, it indicates the same mental state Bashō describes by the terms *kyo* and *ki.* Kyorai gave the following explanation of *karumi:* "Lightness means to say immediately what one sees without forcing it, whether in the opening verse or the second verse. It does not mean easiness of diction and lightheartedness of taste; it refers to the naturalness of a poem that emerges from one's inner depth."[94] According to Kyorai, the composition becomes unnatural if a poet sinks into heavy thoughts: "If you don't know how to put immediately what is in your mind into a verse, but sink deeply into thoughts, your mind becomes heavy and your words unnatural, or your mind becomes unclear. People who just started learning *haikai* should keep this in mind."[95] To achieve *karumi,* Bashō advocated a practice similar to his suggestion to "learn about bamboo from bamboos": "The Master often said: 'Those who limit themselves with formal rules and seek conceptual principles should be ranked in the middle level, while those who go beyond formal rules and forget *(wasure)* conceptual principles are the immortals of the art.'"[96] To "go beyond formal rules and forget conceptual principles" is to eliminate the subjective and conceptual consciousness. It has been noted that "forgetting" was the mental state Bashō pursued in his old age, and he believed that this mental state was essential to achieve *karumi.*[97] In a *haibun* written one year before his death, Bashō says:

> People who lack wisdom have a lot of thoughts. People who excel in an art due to worldly concerns are also good at distinguishing "right" and "wrong."[98] Holding the "right" as their way to live, their hearts suffer in the hell of desires, and, drowned in these shallow ditches, they cannot produce true art. I would say following the old immortal Nanhua's[99] words to do away with fame and profit, to forget years, and to be in idleness—this is the happiness of my old age.[100]

To "forget years" is an allusion to the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi.* It implies a mental preparation for attaining the *Dao.* In Chinese literature,

the term "forget" is used in both epistemological and spiritual ways. When designating a spiritual realm, "forget" (C. *wang;* J. *wasure*) suggests the elimination of worldly concerns. As seen in earlier chapters, doing away with fame and profit and forgetting worldly worries are major themes in Bashō's work. Yet the importance of "forgetting" in *haikai* theory, as Bashō accentuated increasingly in his later writings, lies in its epistemological implication: forgetting as a primary way to enter emptiness and limitlessness, the ideal state in which to attain the *Dao*.

As cited earlier, the *Zhuangzi* considers to forget everything and to forget self the essential way to attain beauty: "To forget everything, and yet possess everything: stay in illimitable limpidity, where all kinds of beauty come to you—this is the *Dao* of Heaven and earth, the virtue of the sage." The *Zhuangzi* also says that to forget is a path leading to limitlessness: "You have only to rest in inaction and things will transform themselves. Smash your form and body, spit out your hearing and eyesight, forget you are a thing among other things, and you may join in great unity with the deep and boundless."[101] This discourse supports Bashō's belief that those who are drowning in worldly concerns cannot really be creative, while those who are able to forget are the immortals of the art. It was from such a belief that *karumi,* the subtle "lightness," took on its theoretical importance. Bashō's "going beyond formal rules and forgetting conceptual principles," however, did not mean the negation of tradition, as one of his disciples pointed out:

> The old Master often said: "*haikai* has no ancestors." This should not be taken partially as a denigration of the ancients. . . . He said, "Only when change and variation are concerned, I say there is no rule that limits us to the ancients." He also said, "The style I seek now can be compared to the water we see at a shoal—it's a brisk flow."[102]

The comparison of the ideal poetic style to "a brisk flow" of clear water is reminiscent of the use of water as a symbol of the *Dao* in the *Zhuangzi*. Bashō elsewhere uses the image to signify "lightness" as a new *haikai* style, especially the natural flow of a linked *haikai* sequence *(renku)*. Shisan (?–1699), one of Bashō's disciples in his later years, recorded similar ideas: "The *haikai* style the old Master seeks now is like what one sees at a shoal—both the style of the verse and the intended way of linking are light."[103] As mentioned earlier, the strict regulation of *renga,* from which *renku* adopted its form and rules,[104] made it particularly difficult for *haikai* poets to achieve naturalness and spontaneity. Within the formalistic

restrictions, *karumi* was the best way Bashō could find to bring out an original poetic personality and, at the same time, to create a natural flow of poetic dialogue. He emphasized that *karumi* should be applied to the entire sequence, not only to the *hokku* and *wakiku* (second verse): "The ordinary links[105] in a sequence should be composed following the momentum of the primal breath without polishing. The most important thing is to keep the links continuing in lightness."[106] Here the operation of *ki,* or the primal breath, is applied not only to an individual poet and an individual verse, but also to the continuation and progression of the links. To prevent the possible interference of subjectivity, Bashō had a strict requirement for his disciples:

> Training is an everyday matter. Once you participate in the composition of a sequence, you should leave little room between what is in your mind and the verse you compose, which means you should speak out immediately what comes to your mind; at that point there shouldn't be any hesitation. Once the composition is over, the recorded poems are nothing more than old paper scraps.[107]

Considering how carefully Bashō himself revised the poems in his earlier works, this requirement certainly shows the master's unusual effort and determination. Although we do not know the extent to which Bashō's requirement was really put into practice, his articulation of naturalness and spontaneity no doubt brought about remarkable changes in Shōmon linked verse. The following *kasen* sequence written in 1690 shows the stylistic tendency toward *karumi.* The sequence, included in one of the best-known *renku* collections, *Sarumino,* begins with the following introductory sequence:[108]

1.
Amid the city
what a smell of things!
The summer moon.
ichinaka wa/mono no nioi ya/natsu no tsuki

(Bonchō)

2.
"Hot!" "Hot!" Say—
voices from every door.
atsushi atsushi to/kado kado no koe

(Bashō)

3.
The second weeding
has not been done, but the rice
is already in ear.
niban kusa/tori mo hatasazu/ho ni idete
(Kyorai)

4.
Whisking off the ashes,
a piece of broiled sardine.
hai uchitataku/urume ichimai
(Bonchō)

5.
In this place
people don't even know silver coins—
how awkward!
kono suji wa/gin mo mishirazu/fujiyūsa yo
(Bashō)

6.
Extravagantly, the man wears
a dagger at his waist.
tada tohyōshi ni/nagaki wakizashi
(Kyorai)[109]

Formal rules require that the opening verse specify the season, which is accomplished by the initial verse. But the moon as a seasonal word for summer occurring in a *hokku* is unconventional. Usually the moon announces autumn, and the first moon verse must appear at the fifth link of a regular *kasen* sequence. The combination of the moon and the mundane images of the city scene also contrasts markedly with conventional poetic associations: instead of stressing the conventional *hon'i* of the moon, its radiance, this poem juxtaposes the moon with the heavy odor that suffuses the hot summer night. The contrast between the stuffiness of the smell and the coolness of the moon creates a mundane but affecting atmosphere.

Bashō's second verse naturally picks up the mood created in the first poem. While highlighting the topic evoked in the previous verse, the summer heat, Bashō's treatment turns from smell to sound: complaints about the heat are heard everywhere. The repetition of the colloquial

words, *atsushi atsushi* (hot! hot!) and *kado kado* (every door) effectively enhance the poetic rhythm. The third link, keeping the same season, switches to a country setting: the power of the summer heat is now subtly implied by the early maturation of rice. The fourth link is a miscellaneous verse that implies no specific season. It keeps the country setting of the previous poem but extends to details of a peasant's humble life. The protagonist, presumably having a quick lunch beside a rice paddy, brushes ashes from a piece of smoked sardine.

Bashō's fifth link, also miscellaneous, speaks of the simple country life from a different angle: in this remote place, people have not even seen a silver coin! Different from his earlier verses on the primitive country life, here the glorification of the rustic and the simple through the concept *fūryū* is replaced by straightforward narrative and common imagery. The sixth poem picks up the observer's voice that Bashō introduced in the fifth verse, describing him as a wandering stranger. This shift opens a new direction to the further development of the topic.

This introductory sequence demonstrates the characteristics of Shōmon *renku* at its maturity: different from the traditional methods of making connections between verses through words or concepts, here the links are based on atmosphere, overtone, and spontaneous shifts. Stressing the natural flow between links, Shōmon *renku* often breaks formal regulations. As seen in the sequence above, the location and seasonal rules of the moon verse are not closely followed. The successive three verses in the summer season also break with regulation, for summer and winter used to be mentioned in only one or two continued verses. The seasonal words, in addition, are mostly chosen from common objects of everyday life.

The attempts to go beyond formalistic rules and to maintain lightness brought increasing spontaneity into the poetic dialogue of the Shōmon *haikai*. The following trio verses were written in 1692.

Right there! Near
the winter chrysanthemums—
a buried radish.
kangiku no/tonari mo ari ya/ike daikon
(Kyoriku)

Kept in during the winter—
soot on my northern window.
fuyu sashikomoru/hokusō no susu
(Bashō)

There's no moon—
last night, I came here
driving a horse.
tsuki mo naki/yoi kara uma o/tsurete kite
(Ranran)[110]

These three verses were composed when two of Bashō's disciples, Kyoriku and Ranran, visited him at his Fukagawa cottage. The sequence boldly breaks the rules and conventions in terms of the use of seasonal words and imagery. The opening verse by Kyoriku makes an exceptional combination of two seasonal words (instead of one, as it usually is), the "winter chrysanthemums" and the "buried radish," both signifying winter.[111] Bashō's second verse, picking up the season, the serene atmosphere, and the humble overtone, shifts the vision from outside to inside the cottage. The verb *"sashikomoru"* simultaneously implies the accumulation of the soot and the seclusion of the poet during the winter. Instead of using the traditional diction "snow" to accompany "northern window," his verse uses a mundane image, "soot," which embodies the essence of *haikai.* Although "snow" could perfectly well fit into the trio sequence, it would not create the novelty and the subtle humor that Bashō has achieved.

The third link, a miscellaneous verse, has no seasonal or verbal continuity with the preceding poems but connects naturally to their dialogue mode: the three links form an extemporaneous conversation about immediate reality and experience; the topic of the conversation changes swiftly but naturally, and the three speakers' voices are at once distinct yet echo harmoniously with each other. Kyoriku reported that when composing this trio sequence, Bashō guided Ranran to draw his lines directly from what he had just said in their conversation.[112] The master was also very pleased with the naturalness of the first verse, saying: "If the *haikai* writers today all reach such a realm, there will be nothing to be concerned about."[113]

The spontaneous utterance and natural presentation of the short *haikai* sequence demonstrates the poetic style Bashō led his school to achieve. As Kyoriku has suggested, the subtlety of the Shōmon School lies in its discovery of beauty in the common world, its limpid and natural expression, and its spontaneous poetic dialogue. The following two poems, both written in a colloquial style in the last month of Bashō's life, testify vividly to his subtle *karumi:*

> This autumn
> Why do I feel so old?
> A bird in the clouds.
> *kono aki wa/nande toshi yoru/kumo no tori*[114]
>
> Autumn has deepened:
> I wonder what the man next door
> Does for a living?
> *aki fukaki/tonari wa nani o/suru hito zo*[115]

The spontaneous utterance of common human feelings and the effortless presentation of daily life found here exemplify the natural style of Bashō's last years. "Following *zōka* and returning to *zōka,*" Bashō attained an artistic realm unprecedented in *haikai* history.

Epilogue

Following *zōka* and returning to *zōka,* Bashō led his school to transform the nature of *haikai* fundamentally. Under his guidance, the Shōmon School produced some of the best *haikai* sequences of all time, but the reality of *haikai* creation in general was still far from what the master had expected. The following verse is commonly read as a revelation of Bashō's lonely feelings in the world of *haikai* during the last year of his life:

This road—
no one goes down
autumn's end.
kono michi ya/yuku hito nashi ni/aki no kure[1]

Bashō's concern seems to have come from the realization that the transformation of *haikai* from an entertaining popular form to a high art could not be accomplished by a single poet. As with other Japanese traditional art forms, the development of *haikai* and the transmission of a *haikai* style were carried out in a factional manner, in which the master–disciple relationship played a key role. And as we have seen in this book, the collaborative nature of *haikai* composition required the joint effort of a group to renovate the dialogic context, diction, and themes of the popular linked verse. For these reasons, Bashō had consciously recruited and guided disciples in various regions and at different periods, and he constantly looked for opportunities to spread his poetic ideas and to interact with people who could understand and accept his ideal of *fūryū.*

The growth of Bashō-style *haikai (shōfū)* as well as Bashō's deepening understanding of the *Zhuangzi* was sustained and stimulated by a large group of poets during different phases of his career as a *haikai* mas-

ter. His lifelong friendship and correspondence with Yamaguchi Sodō, for example, played an important part in articulating the *shōyōyū* tradition in the dialogic context of *haikai*. Among the large number of his disciples, many shared Bashō's interest in the *Zhuangzi* or already had a good knowledge of the Daoist classic well before they became Bashō's students. Kikaku, Sanpū, and Ransetsu from the Edo area joined the Shōmon in the early 1680s and helped make the *shōyōyū* spirit the thematic focus of the school in the *Empty Chestnuts Anthology*. Etsujin, Shikō, and Dosui met Bashō when he was undertaking his *haikai* journeys around the country from the middle 1680s to the early 1690s, and their common interest in the *Zhuangzi* and interactions with Bashō further inspired him to incorporate the Daoist principles into his *haikai* theory. Kyoriku and Yaba studied with Bashō during his late years and enthusiastically supported his advocacy of naturalness in *haikai* composition.[2] While these Shōmon poets followed Bashō passionately in adapting the *Zhuangzi* in their poetic explorations when working with him closely, none of them seem to have truly grasped the aesthetic principles Bashō sought in the *Zhuangzi*, and the use of the Daoist classic in their *haikai* did not extend much beyond conceptual allusions. These poets continued to read and use the *Zhuangzi* after Bashō's death, but in almost all cases the Daoist text cited in their works became catchphrases or ornamental elements of knowledge.

A lonely traveler striving for the perfection of *haikai*, Bashō fell ill and died on his journey on the twelfth day of the tenth month, the seventh year of Genroku (1694). The last poem he wrote on his sickbed continues to celebrate the undying spirit of free wandering:

> Sick on a journey,
> my dream goes on wandering
> in withered fields.
> *tabi ni yande/yume wa kareno o/kakemeguru*[3]

From the Teimon to the Shōmon, the *haikai* poets' adaptation of the *Zhuangzi* in the seventeenth century demonstrated a dynamic interaction with a canon-centered poetic tradition. The emphasis on canonicity in this tradition determined that the production and appreciation of poetry relied on codification and conventions. Hence, the establishment of a new poetic genre was very much a process of self-legitimization and identification with the cultural orthodox. As we have seen, despite its anticonventional origins, *haikai* had to borrow the authority of the Chinese

and Japanese classics in order to legitimize itself. As a result, the movement of the late-seventeenth-century *haikai,* as Shirane observes, "was not the creation of an oppositional culture that attempted, in the manner of Muromachi *haikai,* to invert the social and literary hierarchy, but rather a commoner culture that existed largely within and sometimes became indistinguishable from the cultural orthodoxy."[4] In this movement, the *Zhuangzi* served as a congenial canonical text that assisted both *haikai*'s identity building as a popular poetic form and its transformation to a high art. Bashō, in particular, used the Daoist classic ingeniously to appropriate *haikai*'s popular, unconventional nature while at the same time imbuing its vernacular language and mundane themes with high cultural values. The *haikai* poets' adaptation of the *Zhuangzi* in the seventeenth century contributed greatly to the creation of a poetic form that is simultaneously humorous and profound, earthy and spiritual, eccentric and classical—characteristics we continue to enjoy in *haikai*'s offshoot, *haiku,* today.

Notes

Abbreviations

In citing works in the notes, short titles have generally been used. Works frequently cited are identified by the following abbreviations:

CWC	*The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
KBZ	*Kōhon Bashō zenshū.* 10 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1962–1969.
KHT	*Koten haibungaku taikei.* 12 vols. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970–1971.
LJK	*Laozi Juanzhai kouyi,* in *Wakokubon shoshi taisei,* 9: 213–255. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976.
WST	*Wakokubon shoshi taisei.* 12 vols. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1975–1976.
WW	Donald Keene, *World Within Walls.* New York: Grove Press, 1976.
ZJK	*Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi,* in *Wakokubon shoshi taisei,* 11: 420–548; 12: 1–141. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976.

Introduction

1. *Gūgen* (C. *yuyan*) appears in the twenty-seventh chapter of the *Zhuangzi,* in which it refers to words uttered by the mouths of historical or fictional persons to make them more compelling. The *Zhuangzi* scholars have also used the term to refer to the general writing style of the text. Watson has rendered the meaning of the term into "imputed words" in his translation of the *Zhuangzi.* In Konishi Jin'ichi's study on Bashō and Zhuangzi's *gūgen,* the term is translated as "Parabolical Phraseology"; see "Bashō to gūgensetsu," (Bashō and Chuang-tsu's Parabolical Phraseology), *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* (The Japan Academy Bulletin) 18, no. 2 (1960): 97–118; no. 3 (1960): 145–184. In the context of *haikai, gūgen* is used to imply both the theoretical frame of reference and the fictional or metaphorical expressions derived from the *Zhuangzi. Gūgen/yuyan* in other contexts is often translated as "fable," "apologue," or "parable," but these translations are not suitable to this study. Since the complex connotations of the term cannot be properly expressed by existing English words, I use *gūgen* throughout.

2. Nishiyama Sōin, *Orendamaru nibansen* (Holland II), in *Koten haibungaku taikei* (Collection of classical *haikai* literature), ed. Iida Masakazu,

Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972), 4: 439. (Henceforth abbreviated *KHT*.)

3. Hattori Ransetsu (1654–1707), preface to *Inaka no kuawase* (*Hokku* contest in the boondocks), in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* (An edited collection of the complete works of Bashō), ed. Imoto Nōichi, Miyamoto Saburō, Kon Eizō, and Ōuchi Hatsuo (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1966), 7: 357. Henceforth abbreviated *KBZ*.

4. Kuroita Katsumi, "Waga jōdai ni okeru Dōkashisō oyobi Dōkyō ni tsuite" (On Daoist thought and Daoism in our early history), in *Senshū Dōkyō to Nihon* (Daoism and Japan: A selected collection), ed. Noguchi Tetsurō and Sakai Tadao (Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppansha, 1996), 1: 39–48.

5. Minoru Senda, "Daoist Roots in Japanese Culture," *Japan Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1988): 133–138.

6. Peter N. Dale conducted an in-depth study on this subject in his *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986).

7. Paul D. Scott, "Defining the Imperial State: On the Origins and Development of the Term *Kōkoku*," *The Journal of Intercultural Studies* 15–16 (1989): 1–10.

8. Livia Kohn, "Daoism in Japan: Positions and Evaluations," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 391.

9. Senda, "Daoist Roots," p. 133.

10. For an overall view of the studies on Daoism in Japan and relevant bibliographical information, see Livia Kohn, "Daoism in Japan," pp. 389–412; and Noguchi, Sakai, and Masao, *Senshū Dōkyō to Nihon*.

11. The earliest study on this issue is Yamamoto Heiichirō's survey on the use of the *Zhuangzi* in the works of major *haikai* poets. See his "Haikai to Sōji ga gūgen" (*Haikai* and Zhuangzi's parables), *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (Japanese language and literature) 14, no. 1 (1937): 60–87 and no. 2: 167–192.

12. Kon Eizō, "Danrin haikai oboegaki—Gūgensetsu no genryū to bungakushiteki jittai" (Notes on Danrin *Haikai*—The origin of *gūgen* theories and its presence in Japanese literary history), *Kokugo kokubun kenkyū* (Japanese language and literary studies) 7 (1953): 1–27.

13. See Nonomura Katsuhide, "Danrin haikai no gūgenron o megutte" (On the *gūgen* theories in Danrin *haikai*), *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (Japanese language and literature) 33, no. 11 (1956): 36–44. Lin Xiyi (ca. 1200–1273) was a scholar and official of Song China. His literary name was Juanzhai. According to *Song Yuan xuean* (Brief biographies of the Song and Yuan scholars) 47, he became *Jinshi* (a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations) during the Duanping era (1234–1237) and was once appointed a deputy director of the Office of Personnel Evaluation. He was good at painting, calligraphy, and poetry. His vernacular explanation of the *Zhuangzi*, *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* (1253), was reprinted in Japan and widely read by the *haikai* poets.

14. Nonomura, "Danrin haikai," pp. 36–44.

15. Konishi, "Bashō to gūgensetsu," in *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* 18, nos. 2 and 3 (1960): 97–118 and 145–184; Hirota Jirō, *Bashō no geijutsu—Sono tenkai to haikei* (Bashō's art—Its development and background) (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1968). Discussions on the Daoist influence on *haikai* can also be found in the works of many other Japanese scholars, including Ebara Taizō, Ogata Tsutomu, Fukunaga Mitsuji, Kanda Hideo, and Nieda Tadashi. See Selected Bibliography.

16. Suzuki Tōzō, ed., *Inu tsukuba shū,* Kadokawa Bunko Series (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoin, 1965), p. 133; trans. from *WW,* p. 14.

17. Yamaoka Genjo, postscript to *Takaragura,* in *KHT,* ed. Odaka Toshio, Morikawa Akira, and Inui Hiroyuki (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971), 2: 82. "To harmonize all things with the Heavenly Equality" is a citation from the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi.*

18. Okanishi Ichū, *Shibu'uchiwa hentō* (A response to *An Astringent Fan*), in *KHT* 4: 59.

19. Okanishi Ichū, *Haikai mōgyū* (*Haikai* primer), in *KHT* 4: 83.

20. "Natural" is capitalized here because it stands, not only for the literal meaning of the word, but is used to refer to the hallmark and fundamental principle of the Daoist philosophy.

21. Lin Xiyi, preface to *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* (1629 Kyoto ed.), in *Wakokubon shoshi taisei* (Collections of Chinese classics reprinted in Japan), comp. Nagasawa Kikuya (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976), 11: 410–548, and 12: 3–150. Henceforth abbreviated as *ZJK* and *WST,* respectively.

22. Existing English translations of Bashō's works often translate *fūryū* into "poetry," but both *fūryū* and its Chinese original, *fengliu,* have multiple implications, and its meaning cannot be fully expressed by "poetry." In Bashō's works it implies an aesthetic ideal that rejects worldly values and reveres the Chinese and Japanese recluse traditions, seeking beauty in the lifestyle or mentality that is free of material burdens and devoted to arts. For an in-depth discussion of the concept, see Chapter 4 of this book.

23. Ji Kang (224–263), *Shi si run* (On my thoughts), in *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* (A complete collection of prose works from antiquity to the Six Dynasties) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), p. 1334.

24. The English translation of the term *"butsuga ichinyo"* follows Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 28.

Chapter 1: Encountering the *Zhuangzi*

1. Helen Craig McCullough, trans. and annot., *Kokin wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 3.

2. *Teimon haikai shū,* vol. 1, in KHT, ed. Nakamura Shunjō and Morikawa Akira (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970), 1: 44.

3. Donald Keene, *WW,* p. 22. For more information in English about Matsunaga Teitoku's life and work, see *WW,* pp. 21–39.

4. Ibid., p. 25.

5. Akahane Manabu, *Kōchū haikai gosan* (An annotated edition of the superior umbrella of *haikai*) (Okayama: Fukutake shoten, 1980), pp. 24–27.

6. Kitamura Kigin, preface to *Musashiburi* (The Musashi song, 1682), in *KHT,* ed. Abe Kimio, Ōiso Yoshio, and Abe Masami (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970), 6: 17.

7. Kitamura Kigin, *Yama no i,* in *Teimon haikaishū* (Anthology of the Teimon *haikai*) (Tokyo: Nihon haisho taikei kankōkai, 1926), p. 426.

8. See Introduction, note 1.

9. Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 49. The romanization of the name has been altered. Hereafter abbreviated *CWC.*

10. Kitamura, *Yama no i,* pp. 426–427.

11. In "Haikai to Sōji ga gūgen," Yamamoto Heiichirō points out that in early modern Japanese literature, the philosophical concept of this *gūgen* fused with the Buddhist concept of impermanence, and this fusion is clearly reflected in the phrase "a hundred years in a gleam." See *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 14, no. 1 (1937): 62.

12. Translation of the title is from Keene, *WW,* p. 245.

13. *The Imagawa jō* (The Imagawa family precepts) was attributed to Imagawa Ryōshun (ca. 1326–?), a Muromachi general and a scholar of *waka* poetics, for his younger brother. It became popular in the Edo period as a text of moral teaching and penmanship for children.

14. Yamaoka, in *KHT,* 2: 27.

15. Watson notes in his translation that the word "companion" is interpreted variously to mean his associates, his wife, or his own body.

16. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11, 15a/p. 419. Translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 36. Romanization is altered.

17. About Lin Xiyi, see Introduction, note 13.

18. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11, 15a/p. 419.

19. Yamaoka Genjo, postscript to *Takaragura,* in *KHT,* 2: 82.

20. Yamaoka Genrin, preface to *Takaragura,* in *KHT,* 2: 23.

21. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 8.

22. Yamaoka Genjo, postscript to *Takaragara,* p. 82.

23. As Watson explains, *shigen,* or "goblet words" refers to words that are like a goblet that tips when full and rights itself when empty—expressions that adapt to and follow along with the fluctuating nature of the world and thus achieve a state of harmony (see Watson, *CWC,* p. 303).

24. Ibid. "Repeated words" in Watson's translation is from *chongyan,*

meaning words of the wise men in the past that are quoted repeatedly. The two characters also can be read as *zhongyan,* which literally means "weighty words," referring to words that carry wisdom and authority.

25. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11, 1/49b–50a/p. 436. The translation of the passage is from Watson, *CWC,* pp. 48–49, but the arrangement of the sentences follows Lin Xiyi's text.

26. It is a literal translation of *gorin,* the Confucian principles of the five human relations—father and son, master and servant, husband and wife, brothers, and friends.

27. Kitamura Kigin, *Haikai yōi fūtei* (The essence and style of *haikai*), in *Kigin haironshū* (Anthology of Kigin's *haikai* treatises), ed. Ogata Tsutomu (Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1960), pp. 208–209. According to Ogata, this work was compiled in 1673 and published in 1676. See *Haiku kōza* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1970), p. 24.

28. A similar point has been made by Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 58.

29. Kon, "Danrin haikai oboegaki," pp. 1–27.

30. The work is attributed to Saruhōshi, but his identity is not clear. He might be a person from Nara. Some scholars suspect that the author might be Kitamura Kigin. See *KHT,* 4: 41.

31. *KHT,* 4: 41.

32. Nishiyama Sōin, *Kabashira no hyakku,* in *KHT,* 4: 36.

33. McCullough, *Kokin wakashū,* p. 3.

34. *KHT,* 4: 41.

35. The term is read as *huaji* in modern Chinese. Sima Qian included a chapter, "Guji lie zhuan," (Biographies of the jesters) in his *Shi ji,* celebrating three men of the Spring-and-Autumn and Warring States periods, whose witty repartee produced salutary effects on their sovereigns.

36. *Haikai umoregi,* in *Kigin haironshū,* pp. 33–34.

37. I follow Shirane's translation of the term in *Traces of Dreams,* p. 189.

38. Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 9–10.

39. *Kigin haironshū,* pp. 36–37.

40. In translating *fū* here, I follow Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius, trans., *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 37.

41. *Yakumo mishō* (Yakumo treatises, ca. 1221), a collection of writings on *waka* poetics, compiled by Retired Emperor Juntoku.

42. Kiyosuke's work referred to here is probably *Ōgishō.*

43. This note was by the original author.

44. One of the six principles. It is translated as *Tatoeuta,* evocative songs, in the Japanese preface to the *Kokinshū.*

45. *Kigin haironshū,* pp. 37–38.

46. Rodd and Henkenius, *Kokinshū,* p. 399.

47. Christopher Leigh Connery, *The Empire of the Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), p. 8.

48. Ibid.

49. Fujiwara no Hamanari, *Kakyō hyōshiki,* in *Nihon kagaku taikei* (Collections of works on Japanese poetics) (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1983), 1: 10.

50. Okanishi Ichū, *Kinrai haikai fūteishō* (Notes on recent *haikai* styles, 1679), in *Danrin Hairon shū* (Anthology of the Danrin *haikai* theories), ed., Ogata Tsutomu (Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1963), p. 23.

51. A quotation from the *Huainanzi.* The existing text of the work has twenty-one *juan* on a variety of topics, including early myths and history, parables, philosophical writings, and literary criticism. It is attributed to Prince Huainan Liu An (ca. 179 BC–122 BC). In "Yuandao xun" (Precepts on the Original Way), it says: "Qu Boyu recognized the mistakes he had made in the past forty-nine years when he turned fifty."

52. *Orandamaru nibansen* (Holland II), in *KHT,* 4: 439–440.

53. Nishiyama Sōin, "Sōji zō san" (Eulogy on the painting of Zhuangzi), in Hirota Jirō, *Bashō no geijutsu,* p. 217.

54. Burton Watson suggests that this is perhaps a reference to some seasonal shift in the tides or currents; see *CWC,* p. 29. Cao Chuji also points out that Chinese folksongs hold that "in the Sixth Month the sea begins to move," which supports Watson's opinion. See *Zhuangzi qian zhu* (Commentary on the *Zhuangzi*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 2.

55. Ichū's quotation is an altered version of the original. For an English translation of the original paragraph of the *Zhuangzi,* see Watson, *CWC,* p. 29.

56. These two sentences allude to the *Zhuangzi:* "There is nothing in the world bigger than the tip of an autumn hair, and Mount T'ai is tiny. No one has lived longer than a dead child, and P'eng-tsu (Pengzu) died young"; see Watson, *CWC,* p. 43. It is believed that animals grow particularly fine new strands in autumn, hence "the tip of an autumn hair" is a cliché for something extremely tiny. Also, Pengzu is believed to have lived to an incredible old age. Ichū thus draws upon the *Zhuangzi* to elaborate the Danrin School's emphasis on the deliberate reversal of conventional meanings.

57. Ichū, *Haikai mōgyū,* in *KHT,* 4: 83.

58. Ibid., p. 98.

59. Ibid., p. 84.

60. Nishiyama Sōin, "Kabashira no kyakku," in *KHT,* 4: 36.

61. *Shibu'uchiwa,* in *KHT,* 4: 43.

62. According to Watson, Kui is a "being with only one leg. Sometimes it is described as a spirit or a strange beast, sometimes as a historical personage—the music Master Kui." See Watson, *CWC,* p. 183; romanization is changed.

63. Translation of this quotation from the *Zhuangzi* is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 183.

64. *Shibu'uchiwa hentō,* in *KHT,* 4: 61.

65. Ichū, *Haikai mōgyū,* in *KHT,* 4: 92.

66. Ibid., p. 93.

67. Kon, "Danrin haikai oboegaki," pp. 1–27.

68. Nonomura, "Danrin haikai," pp. 36–44.

69. Konishi, "Bashō to gūgensetsu," in *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* 18, no. 2, p. 105.

70. Ogata Tsutomu, "Haikai," in *Shinchō Nihon bungaku shōjiten* (The Shinchō's dictionary of Japanese literature) ed. Itō Sei, Hisamatsu Senichi, Kawabata Yasunari, Hirano Ken, Senuma Shigeki, Yamamoto Kenkichi, Nakamura Mitsuo, and Yoshida Seiichi (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1968), p. 916.

71. Three of Kigin's commentaries on the opening verses in *hokku* contests are preserved: *Hyakugojū-ban haikai hokkuawase* (*Hokku* contest of one hundred fifty matches, 1669), *Roppyaku-ban haikai hokkuawase* (*Hokku* contest of six hundred matches, 1677), and *Hyaku-ban haikai hokkuawase* (*Hokku* contest of one hundred matches, 1679). This indicates that *hokku* composition was very popular at the time.

72. *Tensuishō* (Notes of heavens and waters, 1644), in *KHT,* 2: 399.

73. My discussion on *hon'i* is inspired by Michael Riffaterre's discussion on intertextuality in *Semiotics of Poetry* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 81.

74. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* pp. 1–29.

75. Quoted in *Shibu'uchiwa hentō,* in *KHT,* 4: 69.

76. *Shibu'uchiwa,* in *KHT,* 4: 48.

77. *Shibu'uchiwa hentō,* in *KHT,* 4: 69.

78. Translations of the names are from Watson, *CWC,* p. 35.

79. Hirota Jirō notes the intertextual relation between Ichū's argument and the *Zhuangzi* in his *Bashō no geijutsu,* and he points out that Ichū's words owe much to Lin Xiyi's annotation to the *Zhuangzi* (see Hirota, pp. 248–249).

80. Matsuo Bashō has typically associated the Teimon *haikai* with a "word link" and the Danrin *haikai* with a "content link." He characterizes the *haikai* of his own school, the Shōmon, with a "scent link." "Scent link" relies neither on classical lexical associations nor on content connections. Instead, the joined verse is linked to the previous verse by shared mood or atmosphere. For an in-depth discussion on the methods of linking in *haikai,* see Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* pp. 82–115.

81. Nishiyama Sōin, "Kabashira no hyakku," in *KHT,* 4: 36.

82. *Shibu'uchiwa hentō,* in *KHT,* 4: 62.

Chapter 2: From Falsehood to Sincerity

1. The representative work of the style is *Haikai tsune no sugata* (The constant style of *haikai,* ca. 1676–1679) compiled by Suganoya Takamasa, a

central figure of the Kyoto Danrin group. *Haikai tsune no sugata* became the new focus of the arguments between the Teimon and the Danrin.

2. Takarai Kikaku. Kikaku was one of Bashō's major disciples. He used a pen name, Rasha, at that time.

3. Hattori Ransetsu (1654–1707), preface to *Inaka no kuawase,* in *KBZ,* 7: 357.

4. Ōuchi Hatsuo suggests that the Chinese-style expression, *haikai mujinkyō,* is an imitation of the *Nanhua zhen jing.* See his annotation to the preface in *KBZ,* 7: 357.

5. Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* p. 240.

6. *KBZ,* 7: 362.

7. Bashō seems to have misinterpreted the *Zhuangzi* here, since he takes "riding on a kite" as the emblem for "carefree wandering." The original text of the *Zhuangzi* stresses that, although Liezi could wander around with magic skills, he had to depend upon the wind, and therefore he had not yet reached the state of absolute freedom. The *Zhuangzi* emphasizes that only those who wander freely through the boundlessness without depending on any means have achieved real freedom. Yet, the Shōmon's celebration of the spirit of carefree wandering is unmistakable.

8. Bashō's commentary recorded in *Inaka no kuawase,* in *KBZ,* 7: 363.

9. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 1/1a/p. 412.

10. In *Bashō no geijutsu* (pp. 231–234), Hirota provides a detailed textual study of the Shōmons' reading of *Haikai mōgyū* and their connections with Sōin and Ichū.

11. Takarai Kikaku, *Inaka no kuawase,* in *KBZ,* 7: 364.

12. Ibid., pp. 364–365.

13. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 1/4a,b/p. 413; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 30, but the paragraph division follows Lin Xiyi. Romanization in Watson's translation has been altered.

14. Sugiyama Sanpū (1647–1732), *Tokiwaya no kuawase,* in *KBZ,* 7: 389.

15. Ōuchi Hatsuo, in ibid., p. 389.

16. Hui Shi, a philosopher of the school of the names in the Spring-and-Autumn and Warring States periods (770 BCE–221 BCE). In the *Zhuangzi,* Huizi is described as "weak in inner virtue, strong in his concern for external things." See Watson, *CWC,* p. 377.

17. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 1/12b–13a/pp. 417–418. Translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 35.

18. Lin, ibid., p. 418.

19. Ibid.; *zaohua* can be roughly translated as "nature's working" (p. 22).

20. *KBZ,* 7: 389.

21. The translation of this phrase follows Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 62.

22. Vol. 1 of *KBZ,* ed. Abe Kimio (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962), p. 64.

23. For relevant studies, see Richard B. Pilgrim, "The Religio-Aesthetic

of Matsuo Bashō," *The Eastern Buddhist* 10 (1977): 35–53; Gary L. Ebersole, "Matsuo Bashō and the Way of Poetry in the Japanese Religious Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1981); and David L. Barnhill, "The Journey Itself Home: The Religiosity of the Literary Works of Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694)" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1986). Steven Carter argues that Bashō's "action was as an instance of what those in the highest ranks of a profession are always wont to do: to test their competence in a wider arena, and by so doing to claim a transcendent status for themselves and their occupations." See "On the Bare Branch: Bashō and the *Haikai* Profession," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 1 (1997): 57–69.

24. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 62.

25. Donald Keene, trans., *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York: Grove Press, 1955), p. 376. The account in Japanese can be found in *KBZ,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Yayoshi Kanichi, Yokozawa Saburō, and Ogata Tsutomu (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962), 6: 470–471.

26. Hattori Dōhō, *Sanzōshi,* in *KBZ,* 7: 174.

27. *KBZ,* 1: 74. The poem is a *hokku* in the collection.

28. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 1/8a,b/p. 415. Translation is from Watson, *CWC,* pp. 32–33.

29. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 1/8a,b/p. 415. It has been noted by both Nonomura and Hirota that Bashō's allusion perhaps draws not only on the *Zhuangzi,* but also on Lin's explanations. See Nonomura, "Bashō to Sōji to Sōgaku," *Renga haikai kenkyū* 15 (1957): 33–39; and Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* pp. 311–313.

30. *KBZ,* 1: 63.

31. Translation of the title follows Keene, *WW,* p. 57.

32. Saimaro, preface to *Azuma no nikki,* in *KHT,* ed. Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971), 3: 572. I follow Watson in translating *tianni* as "Heavenly Equality" (see Watson, *CWC,* p. 48).

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 39.

36. The concept of "Heaven" here refers to the totality of the outer world, including both nature and human life/society.

37. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 3/8a/p. 469.

38. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 3/1a,b/p. 466. Translation is from Watson *CWC,* p. 77; for details of the True Man, see Watson's translation of the *Zhuangzi,* pp. 77–80, 169, 221–222, 232, 277, and 358.

39. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 3/1a/p. 466. Translation of the term follows Watson.

40. Ibid.

41. *KHT,* 3: 585.

42. Uejima Onitsura, *Hitorigoto* (Soliloquy, 1718), in *Onitsura zenshū*

(The complete collection of Onitsura), ed. Okada Rihee (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968), p. 194. A complete English translation of the work can be found in Cheryl Crowley, "Putting *Makoto* into Practice: Onitsura's *Hitorigoto," Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 1 (1995): 1–46.

43. Cheryl Crowley, in "Putting *Makoto* into Practice," points out that in early Japanese historical texts, such as *Nihon shoki* (A written record of Japan, 720) and *Shoku Nihongi* (The sequel to a record of Japan, 797), *makoto* is written in different Chinese characters that imply faithfulness or integrity. In later Japanese literary writings, *makoto* is often written with characters that mean sincerity or truth.

44. Ichū, *Haikai mōgyū,* in *KHT,* 4: 83.

45. Preface to *Haidō Enō roku,* in Okada, *Onitsura,* p. 510.

46. Translation of the title follows Philip Yampolsky's translation of the text.

47. The third line in the earliest existing version, the Dunhuang manuscript of *The Platform Sutra,* is recorded as "Buddha's nature is always clean and pure," but later versions change it to the famous line cited above. Translation of the lines is from Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 132.

48. See Yampolsky, *Platform Sutra,* p. 94.

49. Okada, *Onitsura,* pp. 510–513.

50. Ibid., p. 510.

51. Yamazaki Kiyoshi traces the origin of Onitsura's *makoto* to the traditional *waka* poetics in his *Onitsura ron* (On Onitsura) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1944), pp. 403–424. For a brief summary of previous studies on the relationship between Onitsura's *makoto* and the traditional *waka* poetics, see Cheryl Crowley, "Putting *Makoto* into Practice," pp. 4–5.

52. Yokozawa Saburō has conducted a thorough textual analysis of this issue. See Yokozawa, "Onitsura no hairon" (Onitsura's *haikai* theory), in *Haiku kōza* (Essays on *haiku*) (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1970), 5: 49–64.

53. See Yokozawa, "Onitsura no hairon," pp. 52 and 59, and Ogata, "Shōfū haikaishi" (The history of the Bashō-style *haikai*), in *Haiku kōza* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1969) 1: 199–200.

54. Crowley cites two passages from *Zhong yong* (Doctrine of the mean) and *Mengzi* (Mencius) in discussing the influence of Confucian doctrines upon Onitsura's *makoto:* "*Ch'eng [makoto]* is the Way of Heaven. Striving for *ch'eng* is the Way of human beings" *(Zhong yong);* and "*Ch'eng* is the Way of Heaven. Yearning for *ch'eng* is the Way of human beings" *(Mengzi).* See Crowley, "Putting *Makoto* into Practice," pp. 4–5.

55. Ogata and Yokozawa have made the same point in their articles cited above.

56. Uejima Onitsura, *Hitorigoto,* in *Onitsura,* p. 194.

57. Onitsura, preface to *Haikai takasunago shū,* in *Onitsura,* p. 211.

Warbler *(uguisu)* and frog *(kawazu)* are mentioned in Tsurayuki's Japanese preface to the *Kokinshū* and since then have been traditional motifs in Japanese poetry.

58. Watson, *CWC,* p. 274.

59. Lin, *ZJK,* in *WST,* 11: 8/17b/p. 71.

60. According to the postscript to the collection, the author attempts to imitate the *Zhuangzi*'s writing style.

61. Onitsura, *Satoe nanakuruma* (Satoe's seven vehicles), in *Onitsura,* p. 207.

62. Lin Xiyi, annot., *Laozi juanzhai kouyi* (Juanzhai's vernacular explanations of the *Laozi;* 1627 Kyoto ed.), in *WST,* 9: 224. See also chapters 20, 28, and 40 of the *Laozi.* Henceforth abbreviated *LJK.*

63. *LJK,* in *WST,* 9: 223.

64. Ibid.

65. Onitsura, *Hitorigoto,* in *Onitsura,* p. 190.

66. Ibid., pp. 193–194.

67. Ibid., p. 185.

68. Ibid., p. 186.

69. Onitsura, *Daigo monogurui* (The great awakening and the madness, 1690), in *Onitsura,* p. 38. Translation of the poem is from Keene, *WW,* p. 65.

70. Onitsura, *Satoe nanakuruma, Onitsura,* p. 207.

71. Lin, *LJK,* in *WST,* 9: 220; translation is from D. C. Lau, trans., *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 68.

72. Lin, ibid., p. 254; translation is from D. C. Lau, p. 68.

73. Lin, ibid., p. 232.

74. See Yamazaki Kiyoshi, *Onitsura ron,* p. 63.

75. Onitsura, *Satoe nanakuruma,* in *Onitsura*, p. 215.

76. Hokujo Dansui (1663–1711), *Haikai danbukuro* (A round bag of *haikai*), in *Haikai bunko* (Collections of *haikai*), ed. Ono Shachiku (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1897), 3: 298.

Chapter 3: Bashō's *Fūkyō* and the Spirit of *Shōyōyū*

1. Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* p. 323.

2. Ogata, "Fūkyō no kisetsu," in *Haiku kōza,* 1: 189.

3. For a fuller discussion in English on the stylistic features of Bashō's *kikōbun,* see Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* pp. 213–223.

4. My discussion here owes much to Shirane's observation in *Traces of Dreams,* p. 73.

5. Ogata, *Za no bungaku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1973), p. 38.

6. For example, the *Dokugin kuhyakuin* (Nine hundred-verse solo sequences), published by the Teimon around 1641, and *Ōzaka dokugin shū* (The Ozaka collection of solo sequences) by the Danrin in 1675. The Ōsaka

poet Ihara Saikaku, whose sequence was included in the collection, became famous for his solo composition by producing sequences of thousands or even tens of thousands of verses continuously in a day or two.

7. For a fuller discussion of the *aisatsu* in *haikai,* see Haruo Shirane, "*Aisatsu:* The Poet as Guest," in *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward Seidensticker* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993), pp. 89–113.

8. Hattori Dohō, *Sanzōshi* (Three books, 1776), in *KBZ,* 7: 168.

9. Ogata, *Za no bungaku,* p. 40.

10. *KBZ,* 6: 512; translation is from *Sources of Japanese Tradition,* ed. Ryūsaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 1: 450.

11. Marian Ury, "Recluses and Eccentric Monks: Tales from the *Hosshinshū* by Kamo no Chōmei," *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, no. 2 (1972): 149. In the work Ury also tells us that Chōmei's *Hosshinshū* (Stories of spiritual awakening) contains tales about how Buddhist ascetics mastered the arts of the Daoist immortals.

12. Donald Keene, trans., *Essays in Idleness: The Tsurezuregusa of Kenkō* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 12. Romanization has been altered.

13. Ibid., p. 22. Ji Kang's lines, paraphrased in *Tsurezuregusa,* "The heart rejoices to visit mountains and lakes and see the birds and fish," are from his famous letter "Breaking off Relations with Shan Tao." The work is found in *Wen xuan.* See Xiao Tong, comp., and Li Shan et al., annots., *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan* (Selection of literary works, annotated by the six ministers), rpt. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 3: 43/7a/p. 803. Romanization in Keene's translation is altered.

14. For more detailed discussions of the connection between Ikkyū's poetry and the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition see Chapter 4 of this volume.

15. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 72.

16. The poem is included in *Azuma no nikki,* in *KBZ,* 1: 64. "I am happy eating a dried salmon" is a relatively liberal translation. *"Kami etari"* literally means "to be able to bite," but the auxiliary verb *"etari"* is, according to Abe Kimio's annotation, an allusion to *Caigen tan,* which uses a similar expression, *"yao de"* (able to bite), to describe people who can endure hardship.

17. *Caigen tan* is a collection of philosophical and pragmatic aphorisms by Hong Yingming (fl. 1595). It is believed that the title of the book was derived from the words of Wang Ge (fl. 1094–1096), a Chinese philosopher, who once said: "A man who can live on eating vegetable roots is able to accomplish anything." According to Nieda Tadashi, the book was widely read in Japan during the Edo period. See Nieda Tadashi, *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun* (Chinese poetry and prose that influenced Bashō) (Tokyo: Kyōiku shuppan sentā, 1974), p. 288.

18. There have been different interpretations of the note. Some readers believe that the poet, declaring his poverty, identifies himself with those poor people who have no food but vegetable roots. Others interpret "fare on vegetable roots" to mean the determination of a man who has high aspirations, as the Song philosopher Wang Ge implied, and they take the sentence as the speaker's attempt to distinguish himself from both the rich and the aspirant. My reading of this sentence supports the latter interpretation. The last sentence of the note, *"yo wa toboshi,"* consists of a subject, *yo* (I), and an adjective, *toboshi* (lack). Although *toboshi* also implies "poor," its basic meaning is "scarce" and "lack," in distinction from *mazushi,* an adjective that means "poor" and "needy."

19. Makoto Ueda, comp. and trans., *Bashō and His Interpreters* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 65.

20. "Bashō o utsusu kotoba," in *KBZ,* 6: 504–505; cf. Makoto Ueda, trans., *Bashō* (Tokyo and New York: Kōdansha International, 1970), p. 118.

21. *Tao Jingjie ji* (1664 Tamura ed.), reprinted in Nagasawa Kikuya, comp., *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei* (Collections of Chinese poems reprinted in Japan) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1977), 17: 3/11b/p. 34.

22. See Ogata Tsutomu's annotation to the *haibun* in *KBZ,* 6: 505.

23. In his annotation to this *haibun* Ogata notes Zhang Hengqu's poem to which Bashō alludes: "Would that I could cultivate new virtue, as the new heart of the plantain tree/And make progress in learning, like its shooting new leaves" (*KBZ,* 6: 504). The poem is also cited in the entry of "Bajao" (Plantain) in *Yuan ji huo fa* (18/34), a twenty-four-*juan* Chinese manual for composing poetry, and the story of Huaisu's practicing writing on plantain leaves is found in the same entry. It is likely that Bashō took these materials from that source.

24. *Asobite,* the word Bashō uses here, literally means "play." The word is often written in a character that is the same as the last character of the word *shōyōyū*.

25. *KBZ,* 6: 504.

26. The same point has been made by Ogata in his annotation to the *haibun*. See *KBZ,* 6: 504.

27. Lin, *ZJK,* 6/45a/p. 25; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 209. Romanization is altered.

28. See Chapter 2, note 16.

29. *ZJK,* 1/13b–14a/p. 418; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 35. Romanization of the names has been altered.

30. *KBZ,* 1: 68.

31. *KBZ,* 6: 296.

32. Concerning the intertextual relations between Bashō's poem and Chinese poetry, Andō Tsuguo has done a comparative study in *Bashō: Sono kotoba to kokoro no bungaku* (Bashō: The literature of his language and

spirit) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1965), pp. 102–114. Hirota Jirō also has investigated Bashō's allusion to Du Fu and Su Shi in this verse, and he points to a different poem by Su Shi that contains the line "The roof is leaking like a hanging river," as a possible source. See Hirota, *Bashō to To Ho—Eikyō no tenkai to taikei* (Bashō and Du Fu—the evolution and system of the influence) (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1990), pp. 29–33.

33. Stephen Owen, trans., *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 208.

34. Burton Watson, trans., *Su Tung-P'o* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 124.

35. Donald H. Shively, "Bashō—The Man and the Plant," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16–17 (1953–1954): 148.

36. Saigyō, a late-Heian and early-Kamakura *waka* poet and priest, is a paramount figure in Japanese poetic history. His legacy, especially his poems on nature and travel, exerted a great influence on Bashō.

37. Watanabe Tamotsu, annot., *Saigyō Sankashū zen chūkai* (A complete annotation of Saigyō's *The Mountain House Collection*) (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1971), p. 571.

38. Preface to *Inaka no kuawase,* in *KBZ,* 7: 357.

39. "Kojiki no okina" (An old beggar, 1681), in *KBZ,* 6: 298.

40. Bashō's understanding of Du Fu, as we shall see in the next chapter, seems to have been deeply influenced by Lin Xiyi's reading of the poet in his explanation of the *Zhuangzi.*

41. *KBZ,* 6: 302.

42. Kagami Shikō (1665–1731), ed., *Oi nikki* (Diary in my pannier), in *KBZ,* 3: 276.

43. This poem, which exemplifies the *fūkyō* aesthetic Bashō emphasized in the mid-1680s, reappears with some minor revision in his travel account *Nozarashi kikō: "ichibito yo/kono kasa urō/yuki no kasa"* (*KBZ,* 6: 59). Haruo Shirane translated the verse as: "market shoppers!/let me sell you this hat/full of snow"; Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 69.

44. *KBZ,* 7: 209–210.

45. Nishikawa Shōhi (1672–1750), comp., *Mizu no tomo* (Friends of water, 1724), quoted in *KBZ,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Hisatomi Tetsuo, Ogino Kiyoshi, Kon Eizō, and Akahane Manabu (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1967), 9: 389.

46. *KBZ,* 6: 59. Translation is based on Donald Keene's in *Landscape and Portraits* (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kōdansha International, 1971), p. 102.

47. *KBZ,* 7: 186.

48. Ibid., 3: 254–255. Cf. Ueda, *Bashō and His Interpreters,* p. 120; and Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 123.

49. Shirane notes that "the phrase *'kogarashi no mi'* may come from one of Fujiwara Teika's poems in the *Shinkokin shū* (Love, no. 1320)—*kiewabinu utsurou hito no aki no iro ni mi o kogarashi no mori no shitatsuyu*—in which

the word *kogarashi* means both 'withering gusts' *(kogarashi)* and 'to burn oneself' *(mi o kogasu)* from excessive love." See *Traces of Dreams,* p. 317.

50. Hori Nobuo, *Bashō kushū,* quoted and translated by Ueda in *Bashō and His Interpreters,* p. 121.

51. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 122.

52. A Muromachi priest/poet, he is considered the greatest *renga* poet of his age. He was also an important contributor to the recluse and travel tradition in Japanese literature.

53. For a fuller discussion of the use of the *Zhuangzi* by earlier *haikai* schools, see Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* pp. 192–237, and the first chapter of this book.

54. *KBZ,* 6: 53. A complete translation of this *kikōbun* can be found in Donald Keene, "Bashō's Journey of 1684," *Asia Major,* no. 7 (December 1959), pp. 94–108; and Nobuyuki Yuasa, *Bashō: The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 1966), pp. 51–64. My translation owes much to the earlier translations.

55. Quoted in *KBZ,* 6: 53, annotation to *Nozarashi kikō*. The intertextual relationship between Bashō's passage and Guangwen's poem and the *Zhuangzi* has been pointed out by Ogata in *Bashō no sekai* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1963), pp. 52–54. My discussion here owes much to his insight.

56. Watson, *CWC,* p. 30.

57. As quoted by the Danrin poet Ichū, the Peng bird appears in the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi:* "No one knows how many thousand *li* the back of the bird measures. When the sea begins to move, Peng sets off for the Southern Depth from the north. Its wings beat the water for three thousand *li* and, riding on the wind, the bird rises up ninety thousand *li*." See Watson, *CWC,* p. 29.

58. Lin, *ZJK,* 1/4a and b/p. 413; Watson, *CWC,* p. 30. Romanization is altered.

59. Ogata Tsutomu, *Bashō no sekai,* p. 59. While noting the possible intertextual relationship between Bashō's *"nozarashi"* and the *"dulou"* (old skull), Ogata sees a paradox between Bashō's conceptual allusion to the *Zhuangzi* and his physical experience at the moment, and he interprets the *"nozarashi o kokoroni"* as the poet's determination to die on his trek.

60. Lin, *ZJK,* 6/23a and b/p. 14; Watson, *CWC,* pp. 193–194.

61. A complete translation of the work can be found in Yuasa, *Bashō: The Narrow Road to the Deep North,* pp. 71–90; and Eleanor Kerkham, "Notes from the Traveler's Satchel," *The Tea Leaves* 2 (autumn 1965): 26–46.

62. *Oi no kobumi,* in *KBZ,* 6: 75.

63. Watson, *CWC,* p. 38.

64. Nieda Tadashi suggests that Fūrabō might be a comic twist of the word *fūrai,* which means "being blown here by winds." See Nieda, *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun,* pp. 3–7.

65. Yuasa, *Bashō,* p. 71; Keene, *WW,* p. 92; Pilgrim, "The Religio-Aesthetic of Matsuo Bashō," *The Eastern Buddhist* 10 (1977): 38.

66. Abutsuni (?–ca. 1283), or the Nun Abutsu, was a mid-Kamakura period *waka* poet and the author of *Izayoi nikki,* a journal written on her journey from Kyoto to Kamakura. She was the second wife of Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275) and took Buddhist tonsure after her husband's death.

67. *KBZ,* 6: 76–77.

68. Both "listen recklessly" *(bōchō)* and "reckless words" *(mōgo)* are expressions made up by Bashō. *Bōchō,* though including a character different from that in the *Zhuangzi,* shares the same Japanese pronunciation with the word used there. *Mōgo* is a standard word neither in Japanese nor in Chinese, but its unusual use of character and the context in which it is used indicate that the word is derived from the same paragraph of the *Zhuangzi.* Imoto Nōichi and Yayoshi Kan'ichi suggest that, although Bashō used different characters, his passage here was indeed inspired by the *Zhuangzi.* See Imoto and Yayoshi, "Additional Annotations" to *Oi no kobumi, KBZ,* 6: 167.

69. *KBZ,* 6: 75. Cf. Keene, *WW,* pp. 92–93.

70. See Nose Asaji, *Bashō kōza* (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1943), 6: 34; Nonomura Katsuhide, "Bashō to Sōji to Sōgaku," *Renga haikai kenkyū* 15, no. 11 (1957): 33–39; Konishi, "Bashō to gūgensetsu," pp. 151–158; and Hirota, *Bashō no geijitsu,* pp. 372–444. Imoto Nōichi, for example, says that "Bashō seems to have used it vaguely to refer to heaven and earth—nature in general." See Imoto Nōichi, *Bashō kōza* (Tōkyō: Sōgensha, 1953), 1: 204.

71. *KBZ,* 6: 75.

72. New studies of Bashō's *haikai* theories have translated the term into "the creative." See Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* pp. 259–261.

73. Konishi, "Bashō to gūgensetsu," in *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* 18, no. 3 (November 1960): 182.

74. *KBZ,* 6: 85.

75. Ibid., p. 390.

76. Lin, *ZJK,* 4/34a/p. 510.

77. Ibid., 3/23b/p. 477. Hirota, in his discussion of Bashō's concept of "following *zōka,*" cites the same passage from the *Zhuangzi,* but he does not mention Lin's interpretation. See Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* p. 403.

78. Lin, *ZJK,* 1/45a/p. 434; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 46. My observation of the connections between Bashō's concept of *zōka* and the passages in the *Zhuangzi* is inspired by Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* pp. 405–406.

79. Lin, *ZJK,* 3/4b/p. 467; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 78.

80. Ibid., 7/19a,b/p. 41; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 236.

81. The date of the completion of *Oi no kobumi* is uncertain. Ogata Tsutomu suggests that the work was completed around 1690, about three years after the journey upon which the work was based; see *Haiku hairon* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1959), p. 217. But evidence shows that the formation of

the concept under discussion took place much earlier; see Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* pp. 372–424.

82. Watanabe Tamotsu, annot., *Saigyō Sankashū zenchūshaku* (Comprehensive annotations to Saigyō's *Mountain House Anthology*) (Tōkyō: Kazama shobō, 1971), p. 48; cf. translations by William R. LaFleur, *Mirror for the Moon: A Selection of Poems by Saigyō (1118–1190)* (New York: New Directions Books, 1978), p. 6, and Burton Watson, trans., *Saigyō: Poems of a Mountain Home* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 39.

83. "Tsuki no yama" refers to Mount Gassan, whose name in Japanese literally means "The Moon Mountain."

84. Bashō, in *KBZ,* 6: 126.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid., p. 84.

87. Ibid., p. 118.

88. Lin, *ZJK,* 1/41a/p. 432; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 44.

89. Ibid., 7/19a,b/p. 41; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 236.

90. Bashō, in *KBZ,* 6: 53.

91. Keene, *Essays in Idleness,* p. 115.

92. Bashō, in *KBZ,* 6: 305.

93. I have borrowed Steven Carter's translation of the title of the sequence from his *Traditional Japanese Poetry: An Anthology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 203–204.

94. Ibid., p. 207.

95. See Watson, *CWC,* pp. 81–82.

96. Ibid., p. 33.

97. Bashō, in *KBZ,* 6: 123.

98. Ibid., p. 255.

99. *KBZ,* 6: 123.

100. *Hatsusemi,* in *KBZ,* 1: 194.

101. *KBZ,* ed. Ogino Kiyoshi and Kon Eizō (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1964), 8: 152. My translations of this and the following poem are based on Ueda's translations in *Bashō,* pp. 51–52.

102. *KBZ,* ed. Ogino Kiyoshi and Ōtani Atsukura (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1963), 2: 40.

103. Ueda, *Bashō,* p. 52. Ueda further comments that "In his usage, then, loneliness does not just mean that one is alone and in need of company; it has more to do with a particular atmosphere arising from a scene or moment that need not involve a human being."

104. *Sabishisa* as a thematic element in Bashō's poetry should be distinguished from *sabi* as a theoretical principle. The latter, though commonly treated as an important element of Bashō's *haikai* theory, is rarely mentioned directly by Bashō.

105. Lin, *ZJK,* 5/2a/p. 525; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 142.

106. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 77.

107. “Rakushisha no ki” (On The Fallen Persimmons Cottage, 1691), in *KBZ,* 6: 482.

108. *KBZ,* 6: 59; translation is from Keene, *WW,* p. 86.

109. Keene, *WW,* p. 87.

110. For a brief summary and translation of comments on the poem by Japanese scholars, see Ueda, *Bashō and His Interpreters,* pp. 123–124.

111. Konishi, “Kamo no koe honokani shiroshi—Bashō ku bunseki hihyō no kokoromi” (The voice of wild ducks are faintly white: An analysis of Bashō’s verse), *Bungaku* (Literature) 31, no. 7 (1963): 845–848.

112. *KBZ,* 1: 208; translation is from Keene, *WW,* p. 87.

113. *KBZ,* 2: 104; translation is from Keene, *WW,* p. 87.

114. In another poem, which also appears in *Nozarashi kikō,* Bashō depicts the white color of bait through measure of size.

At daybreak
the whiteness of a white fish—
a single inch.
akebono ya/shirauo shiroki/koto issun

See *KBZ,* 6: 58.

115. Konishi, “Kamo no koe,” *Bungaku,* p. 842.

116. Lin, *ZJK,* 2/21a/p. 448; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 58.

117. Ibid., 2/21b/p. 448.

Chapter 4: Bashō’s *Fūryū* and the Daoist Traits in Chinese Poetry

1. *KBZ,* 6: 110–111.

2. See, for example, the Japanese commentaries selected and translated in Ueda’s *Bashō and His Interpreters,* p. 238. For English translations of the poem, Yuasa, in his translation of *Oku no hosomichi,* rendered the first line into “The first poetic venture.” Shirane translated the line as “The beginning of poetry” when discussing the performing mode of Bashō’s poetry; see his “Aisatsu: The Poet as Guest,” p. 91.

3. See Okazaki Yoshie, “Haikai no fūga to fūryū” *(Fūryū* and *fūga* in *haikai),* in *Fūryū no shisō* (The concepts of *fūryū*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1947), pp. 225–232.

4. *Furyū,* whose first syllable is a short vowel, is written in the same two Chinese characters that are used to transcribe *fūryū.*

5. This summary of the multiple meanings of *fengliu* is based on Richard John Lynn, “The Range of Meanings of *Fengliu* in Early Chinese Texts” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Diego, March 10, 2000).

6. In discussing the aesthetic of *miyabi,* Michele Marra, citing Karagiri Yōichi, notes a different aspect of the word—its reference to secluded life free of worldly concerns—and traces this concept back to the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove in the Six dynasties in China. See Michele Marra, *The Aesthetics of Discontent: Politics and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), p. 49.

7. Okazaki, "Manyō jidai no fūryū" (*Fūryū* of the *Manyōshū* period), in *Fūryū,* pp. 33–65.

8. Okazaki, "Heian jidai no fūryū" (*Fūryū* of the Heian period), in *Fūryū,* pp. 66–106.

9. Okazaki, "Chūsei ni okeru kasa to basara no fūryū" (*Fūryū* as *kasa* and *basara* in the medieval period), in *Fūryū,* pp. 89–106.

10. Patricia J. Graham, *Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), p. 60.

11. In this context, the term was often read as *furyū* instead of *fūryū.*

12. Okazaki, "Chūsei no kabu engeki ni okeru fūryū" (*Fūryū* in the musical performance and theatre of the medieval period), in *Fūryū,* pp. 107–132.

13. Ōnishi Yoshinori, *Fūgaron* (A study on *fūga*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1940), pp. 130–132.

14. Okazaki, "Haikai no fūga to fūryū," in *Fūryū,* p. 214.

15. Fujiwara Shigekazu, *Fūryū no shisō* (The thoughts of *fūryū*) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1994), pp. 166–229.

16. *KBZ,* 6: 507.

17. Ibid., p. 115.

18. *Hatsukaishi hyōchū* (Commentary on the first *haikai* sequence of the year, 1686), in *KBZ,* 7: 410.

19. Ibid., p. 414.

20. Following Bashō's suggestion, the verse can be translated: "The hanging cliff—/here I am, another/companion of the moon."

21. *Oi no kobumi* (Poems in the traveler's satchel) is a collection of poems by the Shōmon poets, not Bashō's travel account that has the same title. The work is no longer found.

22. Mukai Kyorai, in *KBZ,* 7: 75. The last paragraph seems to have been added later. See Miyamoto Saburō's annotation to the work in *KBZ,* 7: 75.

23. *Lisao,* a classic piece of Chinese *ci* poetry. The author of *Lisao* is Qu Yuan (ca. 340 BCE–ca. 278 BCE).

24. The two persons mentioned in this sentence are recluses in Chinese legends. Lü Fang in the original text should be Lü Wang. A legendary recluse, he was said to have been discovered by King Wen of Zhou (ca. 1100 BCE–771 BCE) and helped found the Zhou dynasty. Ziling was a virtuous recluse of the Latter Han (25–220). See *KBZ,* 6: 340.

25. *Tamamushi* literally means "Jade Worm." In the inscription Sodō writes: "Bagworm, is it because you are rejected by the Jade Worm that your

sleeves are wet with tears?" (*KBZ,* 6: 338.) According to *Tamamushi sōshi* (The story of the Jade Worm), to which Sodō alludes, all kinds of insects loved Princess Jade Worm. The Bagworm also sent her his love letter, but Jade Worm didn't even reply.

26. The line is from *Qiu ri ou cheng* (Extemporaneous poems on an autumn day), a group of poems by the renowned Song philosopher Cheng Hao (1032–1085).

27. Hanabusa Itchō (1625–1724). He was a painter and was considered "a representative of the Genroku *fūryū*." See *KBZ,* 6: 339.

28. Ibid., pp. 340–341. There are two existing versions of the *haibun.* The other draft, which is slightly different, was signed "Bashō-an Tōsei."

29. The verse appears in *Zoku minashiguri* (The sequel to Empty Chestnuts). *KBZ,* 1: 125.

30. *KBZ,* 6: 468; translation is from Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature,* p. 374.

31. Several studies by Japanese scholars have discussed the use of the Daoist idea, *zide,* in Bashō's poetry. Ebara Taizō points out that Guo Xiang's annotation to the *Zhuangzi* had an impact on Bashō. See "Bashō to Rō Sō" (Bashō and Lao Zhuang), in *Ebara Taizō chosakushū* (Collections of Ebara Taizō's works) (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1981), 11: 72–79. Nonomura Katsuhide traces the concept to Song scholar Lin Xiyi's annotation to the *Zhuangzi* and the Song Confucian writings. See "Bashō to Sōji to Sōgaku" (Bashō, the *Zhuangzi,* and the Song learning), *Renga haikai kenkyū* 15 (1957): 33–39. While recognizing the influence of all these sources, Hirota suggests that Bashō might have acquired the idea from Tang and Song poetry; see *Bashō no geijutsu,* p. 374.

32. Kageki Hideo, *Ikkyū Oshō zenshū: Kyōunshū* (A complete collection of works by the Reverend Ikkyū: Crazy clouds anthology) (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), 2: 320. My translations of this poem and poems 216 and 332 on the following pages owe much to Sonja Arntzen's translation in *Ikkyū and the Crazy Clouds Anthology.* The last line of the poem draws upon the belief that the best ink is made with charcoal of the orchid tree that grows on Hua Ding, the highest peak of Tiantai Mountain. The word "frost" in the line refers to another ingredient in the ink, the powdered cuttlebone, which looks frosty white. Arntzen suggests that "the sense of Ikkyū's poem seems to be that the spirit suffers ordeals on the Wheel of Transmigration just as the finest ink is made through many poundings."

33. Ibid., p. 319.

34. "Seeing My Beautiful Mori Taking a Nap," for example, is one of Ikkyū's many love poems:

> *Fūryū* of the age, a fair lady;
> Love songs, delicate feast, melodies exceptionally novel.
> Singing a new song, I lost my heart

to her lovely face and dimples,
As the flowering *Haitang* of the Tianbao time, Mori,
you are a sapling in spring.

(*Kyōunshū,* 540)

Mori, a blind singer and attendant, was Ikkyū's love of his later years.

35. Kageki, *Ikkyū,* p. 1.

36. The phrase that alludes to Linji's words is recorded in Item 49 of *Bi yan lu* (The blue cliff record): "Who could know that my authentic teaching would fall into the hands of a blind donkey." See Kageki, *Ikkyū,* p. 2.

37. "Three Mysteries" and "Three Essentials" come from an important statement in Linji's teaching: "Each utterance must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries and the Gate of each Mystery must comprise the Three Essentials." The "Three Mysteries" are the Mystery of Experience, the Mystery of Words, and the Mystery of Mystery. The "Three Essentials" are essence, phenomenon, and function. See Kageki, *Ikkyū,* pp. 1–2.

38. Arntzen, *Crazy Cloud,* pp. 172–173.

39. John Stevens, trans., *Wild Ways: Zen Poems of Ikkyū* (Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, 1995), p. xiv.

40. Hirano Sōjō, *Kyōunshū zenshaku* (A complete annotation to the crazy clouds anthology) (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1976), 1: 279. Cf. Sonja Arntzen's translation in *Crazy Cloud,* p. 130.

41. These images remind us of the Chinese poet Qu Yuan's encounter with the fisherman on the banks of the Xiang. In her *Ikkyū and the Crazy Cloud Anthology* (pp. 46–47), Sonja Arntzen provides a vivid account about the source story. Disappointed and sorely grieved, Qu Yuan, the slandered but virtuous official, resolved to throw himself into the river. As he stood on the bank of the river, a fisherman drew him into conversation. Qu Yuan declared, "All the world is muddled in confusion, only I am pure! All men are drunk, and I alone am sober." The fisherman replied to Qu Yuan: "A true sage does not stick at mere things. . . . If all the world is a muddy turbulence, why do you not follow its current and rise upon its waves? If all men are drunk, why do you not drain their dregs and swill their thin wine with them?" Qu Yuan rejected the advice and threw himself into the river.

42. Lin, *ZJK,* 10/5b–6a/pp. 117–118; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* pp. 349–350.

43. Hirano Sōjō, *Kyōunshū zenshaku*, p. 277. Cf. Arntzen, p. 143.

44. Kageki, *Ikkyū,* p. 342. Tao lived in Eastern-Jin (317–420), not "Western-Jin" (256–316).

45. Konishi Jin'ichi, *A History of Japanese Literature,* vol. 2, trans. Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele, ed. Earl Miner (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 135.

46. Ibid., p. 129.

47. Ji Kang, *Shi si lun* (On my inner thoughts), in *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* (The complete collection of prose from antiquity to the Six dynasties) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), p. 1334.

48. See, for example, D. C. Lau, *The Analects* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 101.

49. Watson, *CWC,* p. 222.

50. Ibid., p. 100.

51. Lin, *ZJK,* 3/25a/p. 478.

52. For in-depth discussions of the concept of beauty in Chinese literary tradition and the aesthetic nature of the *Zhuangzi,* see Xu Fuguan, *Zhongguo yishu jingshen* (The spirit of Chinese arts) (Taizhong: Zhongyang shuju, 1966), pp. 45–143; and Li Zehou and Liu Gangji, eds., *Zhongguo meixueshi* (A history of Chinese aesthetics) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987), 1: 227–284.

53. About the Seven Worthies, see Chapter 3, p. 64.

54. A fifth-century work attributed to Liu Yiqing (403–444), Prince Linchuan of the Liu-Song dynasty, the work records the words and deeds of the elites during the end of the Latter Han and in the Wei and the Jin dynasties.

55. Fang Xuanling (578–648), *Song ben Jin shu* (Book of the Jin: A Song edition) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), 16/7.

56. Ji Kang, *Shi si lun,* p. 1334.

57. Chen Bojun, ed., *Ruan Ji ji jiao zhu* (Annotations to the anthology of Ruan Ji) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), p. 377; cf. Donald Holzman, *Poetry and Politics—The Life and Works of Juan Chi A.D. 210–263* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 110. It has been pointed out that Ruan Ji did not negate Confucianism in general; his criticism was mainly aimed at the Confucian ethical codes articulated by the Han Confucianists.

58. Chen, *Raun Ji ji,* p. 165.

59. The fifth poem of "Chong zuo liuyanshi shi shou" (Rewriting ten hexasyllabic poems), in *Ji Kang ji zhu* (Annotations to the anthology by Ji Kang), Yin Xiang and Guo Quanzhi, annots. (Hefei: Huangsan Shushe, 1985), p. 46.

60. Lau, *Tao Te Ching,* pp. 75–76.

61. Watson, *CWC,* p. 77.

62. This refers to the Daoist practice of *xiao.*

63. Ji Kang, "Siyanshi shiyi shou" (Eleven quatrasyllabic poems), in *Ji Kang ji zhu,* p. 79.

64. Watson, *CWC,* p. 225.

65. Liu Yiqing, "Yaliang" (Elegant magnanimity), in *Shi shuo xin yu jiao jian* (An annotated edition of the New Tales from the World), ed. Xu Zhen'e (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1: 194–195; cf. Richard B. Mather, trans., *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), p. 180.

66. *Tao Jingjie ji* (An anthology by Tao Qian; 1664 Tamura ed.), re-

printed in Nagasawa Kikuya, comp., *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei* (A collection of Chinese poems printed in Japan) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1977), 17: 3/11b/p. 34; cf. James Robert Hightower, trans., *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 124; Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 146; Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), p. 316.

67. Wang Shizhen (1634–1711), *Gu xue qian jin pu* (A thousand pieces of gold from classical literature), cited in Beijing Daixue Beijing Shifan Daixue Zhongwenxi jiaoshi tongxue, eds., *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian: Tao Yuanming juan* (Sources for studies of classical chinese literature: Tao Qian) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) 2: 170.

68. Yin and Guo, *Ji Kang ji zhu,* p. 114.

69. Fukunaga Mitsuji points out the relationship between Zhuangzi's *"you xin"* and the artistic sensibility of poets and artists of the Six dynasties (222–589) in China, and draws a line from the *asobi* (C. *you*) aesthetic that developed in that period up to Bashō's poetry. See his "Yūge to yūge sammai—Tōyō no 'asobi' no tetsugaku" (The playful and the essence of playfulness—*asobi* in the philosophy of the East), in *Tōyō shisō* (Thoughts of the East) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 13: 98–107.

70. Lin, *ZJK,* 3/30b/p. 480; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 94.

71. Lin, *ZJK,* 2/42b/p. 458; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 69.

72. Wei Yingwu (737–786), a Tang poet. He was well known for his simple and placid style and his depictions of the gardens and fields.

73. Wu Ceng, *Nenggaizhai man lu* (Notes from Nenggaizhai), quoted in *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian,* 2: 168.

74. Lin, *ZJK,* 8/62b/p. 94; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 302.

75. Zhong Rong (ca. 465–ca. 518), *Shi pin* (Classifications of poetry), in *Lidai shihua* (Remarks on poetry from past ages), ed. He Wenhuan (1770; repr. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1: 13.

76. *Tao Jingjie ji,* 2/14b/p. 21; cf. translations by Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien,* p. 50, and Yu, *Reading of Imagery,* pp. 144–145.

77. In *The Analects,* we can find such words of Confucius: "The wise find joy in water; the benevolent find joy in mountains. The wise are active; the benevolent are still." See D. C. Lau, *The Analects,* p. 84.

78. An official and philosopher of the former Han dynasty. He was the most important contributor to making Confucianism the state doctrine in 136 BCE.

79. A leading Confucian scholar of the Song dynasty.

80. "Qiu ri ou cheng er shou" (Two extemporaneous poems on an autumn day), cited in Zhongguo wen shi ziliao bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo meixueshi ziliao xuanbian* (Selected works of the history of Chinese aesthetics) (Taibei: Fuxin shuju, 1984), p. 360.

81. Yu, *Reading of Imagery,* p. 32.

82. Lin, *ZJK,* 10/6b/p. 118. As mentioned in the Introduction, the term "Natural" is capitalized here because it is not simply an adjective but functions as a rough translation of the Daoist notion *"ziran,"* which in the Daoist classics designates the spontaneous operation of the universe or the *Dao* per se.

83. For a historical survey of the development of the concept of the recluse in Chinese literature, see Li Chi, "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 24 (1962–1963): 234–247.

84. For the Daoist reinterpretation of Buddhism in China, see Fukunaga Mitsuji, *Chūgoku no tetsugaku shūkyō geijutsu* (The philosophy, religion, and arts of China) (Kyōto: Jinbun shoin, 1988), pp. 83–163. For the relations of Chan Buddhism and the aesthete-recluse tradition in China, see Ge Zhaoguang, *Chanzong yu Zhongguo wenhua* (Chan Buddhism and Chinese culture) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988). Ge's study indicates that the Daoist recluse tradition provided congenial ground for the flourishing of Southern Chan Buddhism in China, and that the latter, in turn, enhanced the former.

85. Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry,* p. 7.

86. Compiled by Xu Ling (507–583) under the supervision of Xiao Gang (503–551), the crown prince, and later the emperor of the Liang.

87. Helen McCullough, *Brocade by Night* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 61.

88. Obi Kō'ichi and Takashi Masao, comps., *Gyoku dai shin ei sakuin* (An indexed edition of the new songs from a jade terrace) (Tokyo: Yamamoto shoten, 1976), p. 183.

89. Ibid., p. 85. Cf. Anne Birrell, trans., *New Songs from a Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry* (London and Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1982), p. 148.

90. Konishi, *History of Japanese Literature,* 2: 154.

91. Kanda Hideo, "Bashō to Chūgoku bungaku" (Bashō and Chinese literature), in *Higashi kara mita ka to kō to* (Streams and rivers: Viewing from the East) (Tokyo: Meiji shoten, 1983), p. 339.

92. Kanda, "Bashō to Chūgoku bungaku," and "Nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku" (Japanese literature and Chinese literature), in *Higashi kara,* pp. 338–351, 362–371.

93. A work consisting of two parts in twenty *juans.* The first part contains 208 poems from the Han to the Tang dynasties; the second part includes prose and prose-style poetry of thirty-three writers from the age when *Chu ci* began to flourish to the Song dynasty. There are different opinions about the compiler of the work. Nieda suggests that it was compiled by Huang Jian and edited by Lin Yizheng at the end of Song or early Yuan times; see Nieda, *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun,* p. 160. The work was intro-

duced into Japan in the Early Muromachi period and was widely used during Bashō's time.

94. *Shiren yu xie* is a twenty-*juan* work (the Tahara edition of 1639 that is used in this study is twenty-one *juans*) compiled by Wei Qingzhi (fl. 1240–1244). The foreword of the work was dated 1244. It collects excerpts from the poetic remarks of the Song dynasty, especially the Southern Song. The first eleven *juans* center on discussions of general poetics, and the remaining *juans* focus on criticism of poets from ancient times until the Song.

95. The complete title of the work is *Jing xuan Tang Song qian jia lian zhu shi ge*. It is a twenty-*juan* work compiled by Yu Ji and Cai Zhengsun. The first two *juans* are classified collections of couplets. Couplets are categorized according to their locations, antitheses, and themes, such as "Full Matching of Four Lines" and "Matching of Natural Scenes in the Opening Couplet." The remaining *juans* are devoted to the use of words, grouping lines and couplets of different poets under specific words that are employed in them. The work was introduced to Japan by the Gozan priests/scholars. It has long been lost in China but has many reprints in Japan.

96. A twenty-four-*juan* manual of popular poetic themes and imagery. The preface says that the work was compiled by Wang Shizhen (1526–1590), the celebrated critic of the Ming dynasty, and was edited by Yang Cong, but Nieda suspects that this might be forged authorship. See Nieda, *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun*, p. 294.

97. *KBZ*, 7: 154–155.

98. See "Tō Matsukura Ranran" (Mourning for Matsukura Ranran), in *KBZ*, 6: 519–520.

99. Nieda, *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun*, and Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu*, pp. 3–184.

100. Ueno Yōzō conducted careful textual comparisons of these introductory works on Chinese poetics and the Shōmon *haikai* theories. See his *Bashō ron* (On Bashō) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1986), pp. 273–302.

101. The complete title is *Tang xian san ti shi jia fa*. It was compiled by Zhou Bi (1200–ca. 1257) around the Chunyou era (1242–1251) of the Song dynasty. The book collects poems by 167 Tang poets and arranges them under three major genres of Tang poetry: the quatrain, heptasyllabic, and pentasyllabic regulated poem. It is believed that the work was brought to Japan by Chūgan Engetsu (1300–1375), a famous poet-priest of the Gozan Zen temples in medieval Japan.

102. An anthology compiled by Ten'in Ryūtaku (1422–1500), one of the most important writers of Gozan literature. The volume collects poems from the Tang through the Yuan dynasties.

103. *Shiren yu xie*, 10/3a,b/p. 95.

104. *Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu* (repr., Kyoto: Hachio Kanbei, 1656), 5/24a–6/50b.

105. Ibid., 18/34.

106. "Bashō o utsusu kotoba" (On replanting my plantain tree, 1692), in *KBZ,* 6: 503.

107. "Kyoriku ate shokan" (Kyorai's letters to Kyoriku, 1695), *KBZ,* 7: 476.

108. *KBZ,* 6: 56.

109. "Take no oku," in ibid., pp. 306–307.

110. Watson, *CWC,* pp. 32–33.

111. Lin, *ZJK,* p. 436.

112. The term *"share"* is recorded in Hattori Ransetsu (1654–1707), preface to *Inaka no Kuawase,* in *KBZ,* 7: 357.

113. "Bashō no To Ho juyō shōron" (An examination of Bashō's reception of Du Fu), in *Nihon bungaku Kenkyū shiryō* (Studies on Japanese literature) (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1977), 7: 47–51.

Chapter 5: Following *Zōka* and Returning to *Zōka*

1. Mukai Kyorai, "Zō Shinshi Kikaku sho" (Written to Kikaku), in Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, eds., *KHT,* 10: 101.

2. Yamaoka Genrin, preface to *Takaragura,* in *KHT,* 2: 23.

3. *KBZ,* 6: 75

4. Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body,* trans. Karen C. Duval (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), p. 3.

5. The date of the eulogy is unknown. Yokozawa Saburō suggests that it was written early in Bashō's career as a *haikai* poet, possibly between 1681 and 1683. See *KBZ,* 6: 303.

6. "Kasen no san," in *KBZ,* 6: 303–304.

7. The textual relationship between Bashō's prose and the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi* has been pointed out by Yokozawa Saburō in his annotation to the *haibun* in *KBZ,* 6: 303.

8. Lin, *ZJK,* 1/16a–18b/pp. 419–420; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* pp. 36–37. Romanization of the names has been altered.

9. In his translation of the passages cited above, Watson notes that "Heaven is not something distinct from earth and man, but a name applied to the natural and spontaneous functioning of the two." See Watson, *CWC,* p. 37.

10. Lin, *ZJK,* 1/17a–b/p. 420.

11. Ibid., 1/17a–18b/p. 420.

12. Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, MA and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University and Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 593.

13. Lin, *ZJK,* 3/23b/p. 477.

14. Ibid.

15. Lin, *ZJK,* 3/16b/p. 473.

16. See Nonomura, "Bashō to Sōji to Sōgaku," pp. 33–39; Konishi, "Bashō to gūgensetsu," pp. 151–158; and Ogata, *Bashō no sekai,* pp. 284–292.

17. Horikiri Minoru, "Zōka zuijun no kichō—Bashō no shinshō fūke" (The basic tone of following *Zōka*—The landscape of Bashō's poetic mind), in *Hyōgen to shite no haikai* (*Haikai* as poetic expressions) (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1988), pp. 93–112.

18. See, for example, Lu Ji's *Wen fu* (The poetic exposition on literature), in *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan*, pp. 309–316; and Zhong Rong's *Shi pin,* in *Lidai shihua,* p. 4.

19. Yang Shi (1053–1135), *Guishan yulu* (Guishan's words), in *Shiren yu xie* (1639 Tahara ed.) in *Wakokubon kanseki zuihitsushū,* Nagasawa Kikuya, comp. (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1977), 17: 13/13b/p. 126.

20. Yan Yu (1180–1235), *Canglang shihua* (Poetic remarks of Canglang), cited in *Shiren yu xie,* 2/6b/p. 15.

21. Ye Mengde (1077–1148), *Shilin shihau* (Shilin's remarks on poetry), cited in *Shiren yu xie,* 14/17a/p. 138.

22. Chao Jiong, *Fazang sui jin* (Gold pieces from Dharma libraries), cited in *Shiren yu xie,* 14/5a,b/p. 132.

23. "Zō Fūgenshi gō" (Written on the literary name of Fūgen), in *KBZ,* 6: 542–543.

24. "Dosui ate" (To Dosui), in *KBZ,* 8: 144–145.

25. "Shiyū Kyosui ate" (To Shiyū and Kyosui), in *KBZ,* 8: 146.

26. *Genjūan no ki,* in *KBZ,* 6: 474. A complete translation of a different draft of the *haibun* can be found in Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature,* pp. 374–376. The second poem appended to the *haibun* alludes to the famous *gūgen* in the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi:* "the summer cicada knows nothing of spring and autumn."

27. See *Kyorai shō* (Kyorai's notes), in *KBZ,* 7: 131.

28. *Zō Shinshi Kikaku sho* (A letter to Kikaku), in *KHT,* 10: 101–102.

29. *KBZ,* 7: 173–174.

30. *Sanzōshi,* in ibid., pp. 157–158. Dohō here refers to two of Bashō's famous verses: "A warbler/excreting on the rice cake/on the veranda," and "The ancient pond—/a frog jumps in/the sound of water."

31. *Kyorai shō,* in *KBZ,* 7: 128.

32. Ibid., p. 129.

33. Ibid., p. 130.

34. *Sanzōshi,* in *KBZ,* 7: 177.

35. Many studies have been done on the terminological derivations of *fueki, ryūkō,* and *fūga no makoto;* among them, Konishi's treatment traces the influence of the *Zhuangzi* through Song scholarship on the *Yi jing.* See Konishi Jin'ichi, "Fueki ryūkō setsu no genkei," *Kokugo kokubun* 14, no. 10 (1946): 1; and "Bashō to gūgensetsu," pp. 164–175.

36. Lin, *ZJK,* 5/38 a, b/p. 543; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 168. Capitalization is by Watson.

37. Ibid., 5/39b–40a, pp. 543–544; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 169.

38. Ibid., 5/37b/p. 542.

39. Ibid., 8/17a/p. 71.

40. Ibid., 5/3a,b/p. 525; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 143.

41. Morikawa Kyoriku, "Haikai jisan no ron" (On the self-praise of *Haikai*), in *KHT,* 10: 128.

42. *Sanzōshi,* in *KBZ,* 7: 177. The original forms of the poems in Japanese are in *KBZ,* 2: 102.

43. Both of the *hokku* are found in *KBZ,* 2:102.

44. *KBZ,* 7: 175–176.

45. Choro, *Hachibukuro* (Bowl bag), in *KBZ,* 9: 394.

46. Lin, *LJK,* in *WST,* 9: 10/14/p. 219. Cf. D. C. Lau, *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching,* p. 66.

47. Written by Jiang Kui (1155–1221), the work is cited almost completely in *Shiren yu xie.*

48. Cited in *Shiren yu xie,* 1/9a/p. 9.

49. Ibid., p. 10.

50. Ibid.

51. Yang Yi (974–1020) was known for his heavily ornate poetic style. Xikun style refers to the same tendency reflected in the anthology *Xikun chouchang ji* (The Xikun anthology of corresponsive poems), which contains poems by Yang and sixteen other Northern Song poets.

52. Zhang Biaochen, *Shanhugou shihua* (Coral remarks of poetry), in *Shiren yu xie,* 10/1a/p. 94.

53. Lin, *ZJK,* 3/38b/p. 484; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 97.

54. For a study of the textual relations between these verses and the *gūgen* about Hundun, see Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* pp. 247–259.

55. *Haikai jiin* (*Haikai* inspired by early poems), in *KBZ,* 3: 190. Also called Nuppepō or Nuppeppō, it is a harmless creature in Japanese ghost stories that does not have a clearly formed face and whose head is undistinguishable from its body. Bashō used the name of this native creature to transliterate the Chinese characters of "Hundun," which, according to the *Zhuangzi,* also has an undifferentiated face.

56. Kyorai, *Kyorai shō,* in *KBZ,* 7: 110.

57. Kyorai, *Tō Kyoshi monnan ben* (Reply to the accusations of Kyoriku), in *KHT,* 10: 114.

58. Ibid.

59. Zushi Rogan (d. 1693), *Kikigaki nanuka gusa* (Notes taken during seven days), in *KBZ,* 9: 269–270. The work records Bashō's words during his stay at Haguro in 1689, when he was on his journey to the far north.

60. Translation of this paragraph is from Victor Mair, *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Bantam Books, 1994), p. 32.

61. Lin, *ZJK,* 2/19a/p. 447.

62. Ibid., 4/39a/p. 513; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 128.

63. *Sanzōshi,* in *KBZ,* 7: 174–175.

64. Konishi has noted the connection between the Shōmon *haikai* theory and Zhuangzi's ideas in "Bashō to gūgensetsu," pp. 158–164.

65. Lin, *ZJK,* 1/51b/p. 437.

66. Ibid., 4/46b/p. 516. The concept "forget," as will be discussed in greater detail, also finds its counterpart in Bashō's later works.

67. Ranxiang is an ancient sage-ruler in Chinese legend. Watson's translation of "held on to the empty socket" *(de qi huan zhong)* is based on a statement made in the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi:* "When the hinge is fitted into the socket, it can respond endlessly" (see *CWC,* p. 282n6). Lin Xiyi interprets the phrase as "*'Huan'* [ring] is something empty in the middle. *'Huan zhong'* is a metaphor for emptiness."

68. Lin, *ZJK,* 8/30b/p. 78; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 282.

69. *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan,* I, 17/2a–4b/p. 311; translation is from Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought,* pp. 87–110. Cf. Shih-hsiang Chen, "Essay on Literature," in *Anthology of Chinese Literature,* ed. Cyril Birch (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 1: 205; James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 72; Yu, *Imagery,* pp. 33–35.

70. See Nieda, *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun,* pp. 242–245.

71. Lin, *ZJK,* 7/11a/p. 37.

72. Konishi has pointed out this textual connection in his "Bashō to gūgensetsu," 2, pp. 163–164.

73. Wen Tong (1018–1079), a Northern Song poet/painter known for being especially good at painting bamboo.

74. An allusion to the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi:* "Ziqi of South Wall rested his elbow on his armrest, looked up at the sky and exhaled—vacant and far away, as though he'd lost the counterpart of himself." Lin, *ZJK,* 1/16a, p. 419.

75. Wang Zongji, comp., *Dongpo xiansheng shiji* (The poems of Dongpo, an anthology) (1647 Kyōto ed.), in *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei,* Nagasawa Kikuya, comp. (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1975), 13: 27/18a/p. 496; cf. translation by Burton Watson, *Su Tung-P'o* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 107.

76. *Sōji shō* (Notes on the *Zhuangzi*) is a Japanese annotative work on Lin Xiyi's *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi.* Authorship of the work is attributed to Kiyohara no Nobukata (1475–1550). This intertextual evidence has been noted by Konishi in his "Bashō to gūgensetsu," 2, p. 163.

77. In the original text of the *Zhuangzi,* the expression "vacant and far-away" is written in Chinese characters, *ta yan,* but Lin's annotation uses a different word, *ta ran;* therefore, the annotator of *Sōji shō* says that Su's poem is based on Lin's annotation.

78. Quoted in Konishi, "Bashō to gūgensetsu," 2, p. 163.

79. Kagami Shikō (1665–1731), in *KBZ,* 9: 379. The authenticity of these words has been questioned, and some *haikai* scholars suggest that these remarks, particularly the statement on emptiness *(kyo)* and substance *(jitsu),* were invented by Shikō. The comment on the relationship between the "high" and the "low" in the passage, however, seems to be consistent with Bashō's view as recorded by the other Shōmon poets.

80. Lin, *ZJK,* 7/28a/p. 46.

81. Huang Tingjian's comments on Tao Qian cited in *Shiren yu xie,* 12/17b/p. 128.

82. *KBZ,* 2: 11.

83. *Sanzōshi,* in *KBZ,* 7: 189.

84. *KBZ,* 2: 63; translation is from Keene, *WW,* p. 116.

85. Dohō, *Sanzōshi,* p. 186.

86. Bashō, "Sanpū ate" (To Sanpū, 1692), in *KBZ,* 8: 165.

87. Ibid., p. 166.

88. In Miyake Shōzan (1718–1801), *Kyo Ya shōsoku* (The correspondences between Kyoriku and Yaba), in *KHT,* 10: 328.

89. *KBZ,* 2: 79.

90. Kōno Riyū (1662–1705) and Morikawa Kyoriku, *Uda no hōshi* (A priest from Uda, 1702), in *KBZ,* 7: 293.

91. Ogata Tsutomu, "Kōsha no geikyō" (Art of accomplished poets), in *Za no bungaku,* pp. 156–157.

92. *Fugyoku ate Kyorai ronsho* (Kyorai's discussions on *haikai:* Written to Fugyoku, 1694), in *KHT,* 10: 85.

93. Ogata, "Kōsha no geikyō," pp. 152–153.

94. Kyoriku, "*Haikai* jisan no ron," in *KHT,* 10: 128.

95. *Kyoraishō,* in *KBZ,* 7: 80.

96. Miyake Shōzan, "Kyo Ya shōsoku," p. 330.

97. Hirota, *Bashō no geijutsu,* pp. 445–468.

98. The expression alludes to the *Zhuangzi,* which negates the differentiation of "right" from "wrong" in the worldly sense, as well as to section 38 of *Tsurezuregusa,* a fourteenth-century work by the Buddhist priest Yoshida Kenkō (ca. 1283–ca. 1352). See Keene, trans., *Essays in Idleness,* pp. 34–36.

99. Nanhua refers to Zhuangzi.

100. "Heikan no setsu" (Words on shutting my gate, 1693), in *KBZ,* 6: 517.

101. Lin, *ZJK,* 4/24b/p. 505; translation is from Watson, *CWC,* p. 122.

102. Hirose Izen (d. 1711), preface to *Hatsusemi* (The first cicadas), in *KBZ,* 9: 320–321.

103. Shisan, preface to *Betsu zashiki* (A disparate gathering, 1694), in *KBZ,* 9: 291.

104. For the formal regulations of *haikai,* see Keene, *WW,* pp. 108–115; and Earl Miner and Hiroko Odagiri, introduction to *The Monkey's Straw Raincoat and Other Poetry of the Bashō School* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 3–36.

105. Verses other than the first, second, third, last, and the *hana* in a sequence.

106. Sakamoto Shusetsu (1653–1733), *Kyō no mukashi* (The time now past, 1699), in *KBZ,* 9: 365.

107. Dohō, *Sanzōshi,* p. 176.

108. The normal structure of a *kasen* sequence consists of Introduction (*jo,* links 1–6), Development (*ha,* links 7–30), and Rapid Closing (*kyū,* links 31–36), similar to that of a *nō* play.

109. "Ichinaka wa" (Amid the city), in *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Miyamoto Saburō (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1964) 4: 243–244. The first twelve verses of the *kasen* sequence have been translated by Keene in *WW,* pp. 111–114, and a translation of the whole sequence can be found in Miner, *The Monkey's Straw Raincoat,* pp. 249–265.

110. In *KBZ,* ed. Nakamura Shunjō, Shimasue Kiyoshi, and Ōtani Tokuzō (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968), 5: 58.

111. At that time, burying radishes in a sunlit spot was a common method of keeping them fresh during the winter.

112. Morikawa Kyoriku's "Rekidai kokkei den" (A history of comic poetry), in *KBZ,* 9: 384.

113. Kyoriku, *Haikai mondō* (Questions and answers about *haikai,* 1697), in *KHT,* 10: 124.

114. *KBZ,* 2: 108; translation is from Keene, *WW,* p. 118.

115. Ibid., p. 109; translation is from Keene, *WW,* p. 118.

Epilogue

1. *KBZ,* 2: 107.

2. For a detailed examination of the relationship between the *Zhuangzi* and the works of these Shōmon poets, see Hirota Jirō, *Shōmon to Sōji* (The Shōmon School poets and the *Zhuangzi*) (Tokyo:Yūseidō, 1979).

3. *KBZ,* 2: 109.

4. Shirane, *Traces of Dreams,* p. 289.

Glossary

Abutsuni 阿仏尼 (d.–ca. 1283). The Nun Abutsu, a Kamakura *waka* poet and the author of *Izayoi nikki* (Diary from the sixteenth night).

aisatsu 挨拶. Literally "greeting," the term is used in *renga* and *haikai* to refer specifically to the salutatory expression that is essential to collaborative and performative linked poetry.

Arakida Moritake 荒木田守武 (1473–1549). Late Muromachi period *renga* and *haikai* poet who helped make *haikai* an art distinct from classical linked verse in the sixteenth century.

atarashimi 新しみ. Newness, a quality particularly important to *haikai* that takes unconventional expressions as its hallmark.

Azuma no nikki 東日記 (Diary of the East, 1681). A *haikai* collection advocating new style, edited by Ikenishi Gonsui and prefaced by Shiinomoto Saimaro.

Baishi Daoren shi shuo 白石道人詩説 (Master Baishi's remarks on poetry). A collection of critical remarks by Song dynasty poet-recluse Jiang Kui 姜夔 (ca. 1155–ca. 1221).

bajiao (J. *bashō*) 芭蕉. Plantain. A kind of banana plant that grows rapidly in the summer but rarely bears fruit in East Asian countries. The image of plantain is often used in Chinese and Japanese literature as a metaphor for the transience of life because its large leaves are easily torn by wind and rain. Bashō took one of his pennames after the plant, making it a symbolic image of uselessness and unity with nature's changes.

basara ばさら, 婆佐羅, 跋折羅, 婆娑羅. A term popularly used in medieval Japan to suggest flamboyant, somewhat flashy, beauty.

bashō (C. *bajiao*) 芭蕉. See *bajiao*.

Betsu zashiki 別座敷 (A disparate gathering). A collection of *haikai* by Bashō and his disciples, compiled by Shisan in 1694.

Bi yan lu 碧巌録 (The blue cliff record). A Song dynasty Chan Buddhist text. It consists of 100 *gong'an* (J. *kōan*), originally compiled by Xuedou Zhongxian (980–1052) who wrote a verse on each case; later, Yuanwu added commentaries to the text.

bōchō 亡聴. To listen recklessly. A word Bashō used to describe his narrative in *Oi no kobumi* (Essay in my pannier), it indicates an iconoclastic attitude that distinguishes the *haikai* travel journal from the melancholy tone of classical travel journals. It is derived from a word with the same meaning in the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846). A scholar-official and one of the most popular poets of the Tang dynasty. Better known in Japan by his literary name, Haku Rakuten (C. Bo Letian).

Bo Yi 伯夷. An ancient Chinese recluse who, according to legend, refused to eat the grain of Zhou—who overthrew Yin—and starved to death in reclusion.

bun (C. *wen*) 文. See *wen*.

bunga (C. *wenya*) 文雅 . See *wenya*.

Bunkyō hifuron 文鏡秘府論 (Mirrors of literature: Treatises of the secret treasury, 819–820). A collection compiled by Kūkai (778–835), which contains excerpts from Six dynasties and Tang poetic treatises and some of his own writings.

butsuga ichinyo 物我一如. The unity of object and self, which Bashō considered as essential in poetic composition.

Caigen tan 菜根譚 (Notes on vegetable roots). A collection of philosophical and pragmatic aphorisms by Hong Yingming (fl. 1595).

Cai Zhengsun 蔡正孫 (dates unknown). Southern Song dynasty poet and scholar, one of the compilers of *Lian zhu shi ge* (Strings of pearls: A classified selection from Tang and Song poets).

Canglang shihua 滄浪詩話 (Poetic remarks of Canglang). A volume of critical remarks on poetry by Yan Yu of the Southern Song dynasty.

Cao Fu 巣父. A legendary Chinese recluse who rejected fame and power so completely that he wouldn't let his bull drink the water in which his friend Xu You washed his ears when he heard that Yao, the legendary monarch, wanted to cede the empire to him.

Chao Jiong 晁迥 (dates unknown). Song dynasty poet and scholar-official, the author of *Fazang sui jin* (Gold pieces from Dharma libraries).

cheng (J. *makoto*, *sei*) 誠. Basically meaning sincerity and truthfulness to one's true nature, in the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* it suggests the Way of Heaven. A recurrent artistic and ethical ideal in Japan, the term was used by *haikai* masters, including Uejima Onitsura and Matsuo Bashō, to promote truthfulness or poetic truth that was lacking in earlier *haikai*.

Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085). Song dynasty Confucian scholar and one of the founders of Cheng-Zhu Confucian learning.

chōka 長歌. Long poem in Japanese. The best examples are seen in the eighth-century anthology *Manyōshū*.

chōnin 町人. An urban dweller, urbanite, merchant, townsperson.

chōrenga 長連歌. Longer forms of linked verse, consisting of alternating seventeen- and fourteen-syllable lines. It is generally referred to as *renga*, or linked verse, after the late Kamakura period.

Choro 樗路 (fl. 1704–1748). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Shida Yaba; compiled *Hachibukuro* (Bowl bag), a volume of notes and essays on *haikai* poetics.

Chūgan Engetsu 中巌円月 (1300–1375). Kamakura period Zen priest and poet.

Daigo monogurui 大悟物狂 (The great awakening and the madness, 1690). A *haikai* anthology compiled by Uejima Onitsura.

Danrin 談林. Originally referring to the meeting place of doctrinal experts and Buddhists, the term was used sardonically for the *haikai* style and school, characterized by their liberal spirit and witty expressions, as seen in Nishiyama Sōin's verses.

Dansui 団水. See Hokujō Dansui.

Dao (J. *Dō*) 道. A pervasive term in both Chinese and Japanese thought, it can be roughly translated as path, the Way, truth, and so forth. Rather than a body of rules or beliefs, it refers to a course to be followed or the natural course of things. In Daoist texts it implies primarily the innate and spontaneous way of the universe.

Dao de jing 道德經. A foundational Daoist classic. The work is traditionally said to have been written about 600 BCE by Lao Dan (Laozi).

Daojia sixiang 道家思想. Daoist thoughts.

Daojiao 道教. Religious Daoism.

Daren xiansheng zhuan 大人先生傳 (Biography of the great man). A long prose work written by Ruan Ji (210–263). It describes a man inspired by the *Zhuangzi,* who ridicules vulgar Confucianists and praises the carefree Daoist sages.

Da Zhuang lun 達莊論 (Attaining the *Zhuangzi*). An interpretive work on the *Zhuangzi* written by Ruan Ji.

"Dazongshi" 大宗師(The Great and Venerable Teacher). The title of a chapter and the name of a fictional character in the *Zhuangzi,* described as the faithful follower and interpreter of the *Dao.*

de 德. Approximately, virtue or righteousness. The term can either mean moral virtue, or virtue in the sense of an inherent power in Chinese philosophies.

Dō (C. *Dao*) 道 . See *Dao*.

Dohō 土芳. See Hattori Dohō.

dokugin 独吟. Solo composition of *haikai.*

Dokugin kuhyakuin 独吟九百韻 (Nine hundred-verse solo sequences). A *haikai* collection published by the Teimon School around 1641.

Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 179 BCE–ca. 104 BCE). Former Han dynasty (206 BCE–25 CE) philosopher-official who helped make Confucianism the state doctrine.

Dosui 怒誰. See Takahashi Dosui.

Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770). One of the greatest Tang dynasty (618–907) poets, revered both in China and Japan and frequently cited by Bashō.

Edo benkei 江戸弁慶 (Edo's tough men, 1680). A *haikai* anthology compiled by Ikenishi Gonsui.

Edo ja no sushi 江戸蛇之鮓 (Edo snake sushi, 1679). A *haikai* anthology compiled by Ikenishi Gonsui.

Edo shimmichi 江戸新道 (The new way of Edo, 1678). The first *haikai* anthology compiled by Ikenishi Gonsui.

Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578–648). Tang dynasty scholar-official and one of the compilers of *Jin shu* (Book of the Jin).

Fazang sui jin 法藏碎金 (Gold pieces from the Dharma libraries). A volume of excerpts from Chan texts, compiled by Chao Jiong of the Song dynasty.

feng (J. *fū*) 風. Wind, style, trend. In the *Classic of Poetry (Shi jing)*, *feng* appears in a section titled "*Guofeng*," the "Airs of the States." The term is also interpreted as *feng* in the third tone, meaning to criticize. The latter usage is adopted by the *Kokinshū* prefaces, where the term is translated into *soeuta*, the suasive poem.

fengliu (J. *fūryū*) 風流. Polysemous in both Chinese and Japanese, the term has been used to imply the unpredictability of human existence, the customs of a society, the integrity of a sophisticated person, exceptional literary styles, and elegant but unconventional behavior and taste. In some cases it also refers to the heightened appreciation and expression of sensual-aesthetic experiences and sensibilities, or an amorous, even erotic, quality. The term in Bashō's poetry implies an aesthetic ideal that rejects worldly values and reveres the Chinese and Japanese recluse traditions, seeking beauty in a lifestyle or mentality that is free of material burdens and devoted to the arts.

fū (C. *feng*) 風. See *feng*.

fueki ryūkō 不易流行. The unchanging and the fluid, a poetic ideal Bashō put forth during his journey to the deep north. The term suggests that *haikai* must constantly renew itself while maintaining the everlasting fundamental principles and qualities.

fūga (C. *fengya*) 風雅. Broadly implying literary elegance and refinement, the word is also used to mean specifically poetic art.

fūga no makoto 風雅の誠. Sincerity of poetry, advocated by Bashō as essential to making *haikai* a lasting art.

Fūgen 風弦. Literally meaning "Strings of Wind," this pseudonym of one of Bashō's disciples was inspired by the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Fugyoku ate Kyorai ronsho 不玉宛去来論書 (Kyorai's discussions on *haikai*: Written to Fugyoku). A volume of *haikai* treaties written by Kyorai in 1694. Also titled *Fugyoku ate ronsho, Kyorai Fugyoku ate shokan*.

fuhen 不変 . Unchanging, used in Bashō's poetics to refer to the poetic principles and qualities that transcend time.

Fujiwara no Hamanari 藤原浜成 (724–790). Late Nara period poet and the author of *Kakyō hyōshiki* (Classics of Japanese poetry: Examples and forms).

Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177). Late Heian period *waka* poet and scholar of *waka* poetics. The author of *Ōgishō* (Notes on poetic profundities).

Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241). Early Kamakura *waka* poet and critic. His name is also read Fujiwara no Sadaie.

fūkyō 風狂. Poetic eccentricity or madness, a quality and aesthetic much valued by Bashō and his school, presented through an idea, persona, or imagery that breaks with conventional norms so boldly that it appears strange to the common view.

fūkyō no kisetsu 風狂の季節. A season of poetic eccentricity, used to characterize the Shōmon School *haikai* during the late 1680s.

Fūrabō 風羅坊. A pen name coined by Bashō with three characters: *fū,* "wind," *ra*, "thin silk," and *bō*, "priest" or "boy." It creates an image that is easily broken and devoid of worldly values, and willingly submits to nature's force, wind. These qualities are similar to that of the plantain (*bashō*), another metaphorical image Bashō used to identify himself.

furubi 古び. Oldness. Used by *haikai* critics to describe the classicism of *haikai* in the 1680s.

fūryū (C. *fengliu*) 風流. See *fengliu*.

Fuyu no hi 冬の日 (The winter days, 1684). The first major *haikai* anthology of the Shōmon School.

Genji monogatari 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji). Written by Murasaki Shikibu in the eleventh century, it is the most renowned work in the Japanese classical canon and served as a source for *miyabi* ideals among *haikai* poets.

Genjūan no ki 幻住庵の記 (On the unreal dwelling, 1690). A *haibun* work by Bashō.

Genrin 元隣. See Yamaoka Genrin.

gojūin 五十韻. A fifty-verse sequence of linked verse.

Gōko fūgetsushū (C. *Jianghu fengyue ji)* 江湖風月集. See *Jianghu fengyue ji*.

Gonsui 言水. See Ikenishi Gonsui.

Gozan 五山. Literally meaning Five Mountains, the term is used to refer to the top five monasteries in the Zen monastic system since the Kamakura period (1185–1333). The priest-scholars of the Five Mountains monasteries played an important role in transmitting Chinese classics into Japan.

Guang mo zhi ye (J. Kō baku no no) 廣莫之野. The Field of Broad-and-Boundless, a fictional place-name in the *Zhuangzi,* whose metaphorical meaning suggests a boundless realm that transcends all worldly existences.

Guangwen 廣聞 (dates unknown). A Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) Chinese Chan Buddhist priest.

gūgen (C. *yuyan*) 寓言 . See *yuyan.*

Guishan yulu 亀山語録 (Guishan's words). A book written by Yang Shi, a Song dynasty Confucian scholar.

guji (J. *kokkei*) 滑稽. Read as *hauji* in modern Chinese, the basic meanings of the word are "humor," "comicality," and "funny." The term literally means a wine decanter pouring forth its content ceaselessly. In traditional Chinese literature it refers to both witty and glib speech. The *haikai* theorists traced the origin of "*haikai*" back to this word in classical Chi-

nese texts and interpreted the meaning of the term as "wonderful meaning" and "endless words" in order to justify the virtue of comic linked verse.

Guo Xiang 郭象 (d. 312). Jin dynasty (265–420) scholar-official, who completed one of the most influential commentaries on the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi*.

Gu wen zhen bao 古文真宝 (True treasures of ancient literature). A collection of Chinese poems and prose from the Han to the Song (960–1279) dynasties.

Gu xue qian jin pu 古学千金譜 (A thousand pieces of gold from classical literature). A collection compiled with commentary by Wang Shizhen (1634–1711).

Gyokudai shinei (C. *Yu tai xin yong*) 玉臺新咏. See *Yu tai xin yong*.

Hachibukuro 鉢袋 (Bowl bag, 1745). A volume of notes and essays on *haikai* poetics and activities compiled by Choro, a disciple of Shida Yaba.

hachidaishū 八代集 . The first eight imperially commissioned *waka* anthologies; starting with the *Kokin waka shū* (905), and continuing to the *Shinkokin waka shū* (1205).

haibun 俳文. Prose written with the spirit and stylistic features of *haikai,* usually accompanied by a *haikai* verse or verses.

Haidō Enō roku 誹道恵能録 (The Way of *haikai*: Notes on Huineng's teaching, 1680). A *haikai* anthology by Uejima Onitsura.

haigon 俳言. *Haikai* words—including vernacular Japanese words and colloquial expressions, Chinese words, and Buddhist terms—prohibited in classical Japanese poetry.

haikai 俳諧. Originally referring to the humorous poems found in the first imperially commissioned poetic anthology, *Kokin waka shū,* the word was later used to distinguish comic, popular linked verse (*haikai no renga)* from refined, classical linked verse (*renga*). *Haikai* is also used broadly to describe genres deriving from *haikai* or reflecting the *haikai* spirit, such as *haiku*, *haibun, renku*, and *haikai kikōbun.*

Haikai gosan 俳諧御傘 (The superior umbrella of *haikai,* 1651). A work on the compositional rules of *haikai,* compiled by Matsunaga Teitoku, the leader of the Teimon School.

Haikai ji'in 俳諧次韻 (*Haikai* inspired by early poems, 1681). A *haikai* anthology compiled by Matsuo Bashō. It demonstrates the Shōmon School's early attempts to reform *haikai*.

haikaika 俳諧歌. The humorous poems found in the classical Japanese poetic anthology, *Kokin waka shū.*

haikai kikōbun 俳諧紀行文. Travel account written in the *haikai* spirit, usually interwoven with *haikai* verses, best exemplified by Bashō's travel accounts.

Haikai mōgyū 俳諧蒙求 (*Haikai* primer, 1675). A *haikai* theory book written by Okanishi Ichū of the Danrin School.

Haikai mondō 俳諧問答 (Questions and answers about *haikai*, 1697). A col-

lection of essays exchanged by Kyorai and Kyoriku on key issues in the Shōmon *haikai* poetics.

haikai no renga 俳諧の連歌. *Haikai*-style linked verse. See *haikai*.

Haikai takasunago shū 俳諧高すな子集 (Sand dune collection of *haikai,* 1692). Its preface was written by Uejima Onitsura, who in this preface put forth the concept of *makoto* (sincerity) in his *haikai* theory.

Haikai tsune no sugata 俳諧中庸姿 (The constant style of *haikai,* ca. 1676–1679). An anthology of solo *haikai* sequences by Danrin poets in Kyoto; compiled by Suganoya Takamasa.

Haikai umoregi 俳諧埋木 (*Haikai* and the buried tree, 1673). An instructional book on *haikai* composition by Kitamura Kigin.

Haikai yōi fūtei 俳諧用意風躰 (The essence and style of *haikai*, 1673). *Haikai* treaties by Kitamura Kigin.

haiku 俳句. The autonomous, seventeen-syllable verse originating from the opening verse of a *haikai* sequence.

Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶 (1625–1724). Edo period artist and poet.

hanru (J. *kanju*) 寒儒 . A scholar living in poverty.

Hanshan ji 寒山集 (Anthology of Cold Mountain). A Tang dynasty anthology of poems attributed to Hanshan, who, according to legend, was an eccentric priest and scholar who lived at a place called Cold Cliff.

Hatsukaishi hyōchū 初懐紙評注 (Commentary on the first *haikai* sequence of the year, 1686). Bashō's commentary on fifty *haikai* verses by his disciples.

Hatsusemi 初蝉 (The first cicadas, 1696). A *haikai* anthology of *hokku* verses and *kasen* sequences by Bashō and his disciples; compiled by Itō Fūkoku.

Hattori Dohō 服部土芳 (1657–1730). One of the major disciples of Bashō and the author of *Sanzōshi,* treatises that record Bashō's critical remarks on *haikai.*

Hattori Ransetsu 服部嵐雪 (1654–1707). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657). Early Edo period Cheng-Zhu Confucian scholar.

Heikan no setsu 閉関之説 (Words on shutting my gate, 1693). A *haibun* work by Bashō on his reclusion at Fukagawa.

henka (C. *bianhua*) 変化 . Changing or changes. The word is used in Bashō's poetics to specify the ever-changing aspects of *haikai*, similar to the meaning of *ryūkō*, or fluid. See *fueki ryūkō*.

He Wenhuan 何文煥 (late 18th c.). Qing dynasty (1644–1911) scholar and the compiler of *Lidai shihua* (Remarks on poetry from past ages).

Hirose Izen 広瀬惟然 (d. 1711). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

Hisago ひさご (Gourd, 1690). A *haikai* anthology compiled by Bashō's disciples at Ōmi, which embodied his new poetic principle of *karumi* (lightness).

Hitorigoto 独ごと (Soliloquy, 1718). A *haikai* treatise written by Uejima Onitsura.

Hōjōki 方丈記 (An account of my ten-foot-square hut, 1212). A representative work of Japanese recluse literature and the prose genre *zuihitsu,* written by Kamo no Chōmei.

hokku 発句. Seventeen-syllable opening verse of a linked verse sequence. Later it was composed independently as well, and in this case is identical to modern *haiku*.

Hokujō Dansui 北条団水 (1663–1711). Edo period *haikai* poet and popular fiction writer, a disciple of Ihara Saikaku.

Honchō monzui 本朝文粋 (The best writings of Japan, ca. 1058–1064). A collection of Chinese prose and poems compiled by Fujiwara Akihira.

Hong Yingming 洪應明 (fl. 1595). Ming dynasty writer, the author of *Cangen tan*.

hon'i 本意. "Original meaning" or "essence." In Japanese poetics, it refers to the poetic essence of an image and the established associations of a topic codified by the classical precedents.

honzetsu 本説 . Canonical texts that provide the foundation of allusive variation in Japanese poetry.

hōratsu 放埒. Dissipation, self-indulgence. Used by *haikai* critics to describe Danrin *haikai* during the end of the 1670s.

Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽斎 (1534–1610). Late Muromachi–early Edo warlord, *waka* and *renga* master, and scholar of classical poetics.

Huainanzi 淮南子. A collection of texts on a wide range of topics, including early myths and histories, parables, philosophical writings, and literary criticism, attributed to Prince Huainan Liu An (ca. 179 BCE–122 BCE).

Huaisu 懷素 (725–785). Tang dynasty Buddhist priest and calligrapher, one of the best in cursive script (*caoshu*) calligraphy.

huaji (J. *kokkei*) 滑稽. See *guji*.

Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (1045–1105). Song dynasty poet, calligrapher, and scholar-official, whose poems were widely read by Japanese *haikai* poets.

Huizi 惠子. Hui Shi, a representative figure of the School of Names in the Spring-and-Autumn and Warring States periods (770 BCE–221 BCE).

Hundun (J. Konton; Nupeppō) 渾沌 ; 混沌 . Chaos, or the primeval state of the universe according to Chinese folklore. The word is used in the *Zhuangzi* to name the emperor of the central region, whose undifferentiated face symbolizes the primordial state of natural undifferentiation. The image was used by Bashō and 渾沌 was transliterated in his verse into Nupeppō, a creature in Japanese ghost stories whose face and body are undistinguishable.

hyakuin 百韻. A hundred-verse sequence of linked verse.

Ichū 惟中. See Okanishi Ichū.

Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–1693). Edo period *haikai* poet and fiction writer, well known for his rapid composition of *haikai* verses.

Ikenishi Gonsui 池西言水 (1650–1722). Edo *haikai* poet, whose compilation

of *Azuma no nikki* and other *haikai* anthologies contributed to the emergence of a new style departing from Danrin *haikai*.

Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394–1481). Medieval Japanese Zen master and poet. The eccentric persona he created in his poems contributed to the prominence of the aesthetic of eccentricity in Japanese poetry.

Imagawa jō 今川状. The Imagawa family precepts, attributed to Imagawa Ryōshun (ca. 1326–?), a Muromachi general and a scholar of *waka* poetics; it became popular in the Edo period as a text of moral teaching and penmanship for children.

Inaka no kuawase 田舎句合 (*Hokku* contest in the boondocks, 1680). Fifty verses by Takarai Kikaku arranged in the form of a contest with Bashō's comments.

Inu Tsukubashū 犬筑波集 (Dog Tsukuba anthology, ca. 1539). An early *haikai* anthology whose title parodies the classical linked verse anthology, *Shinsen Tsukubashū* (New Tsukuba anthology).

Ise kikō 伊勢紀行 (A journey to Ise, 1773). A *haikai* travel account written by Uryū.

itai 異体. A different body, a strange style.

Itchō 一蝶. See Hanabusa Itchō.

Itō Fūkoku 伊藤風国 (d. 1701). Edo *haikai* poet and one of Bashō's disciples.

Izayoi nikki 十六夜日記 (Diary from the sixteenth night). A travel account written by Nun Abutsu (d. 1283), the second wife of Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275).

Izen 惟然. See Hirose Izen.

Jianghu fengyue ji (J. *Gōko fūgetsushū*) 江湖風月集 (Winds and the moon at rivers and lakes: An anthology). A collection of Chinese poems by Buddhist priests, widely read in Japan since the medieval period.

Ji Kang 嵇康 (224–263). Wei dynasty (220–265) writer, poet, musician, and thinker, one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove (Zhu lin qi xian); advocated breaking with Confucian ethical codes and following one's original nature.

ji'nen (or *shizen*; C. *ziran*) 自然. See *ziran*.

Jin shu 晉書 (Book of the Jin). A collection of historical records and biographies of the Jin dynasty, compiled by Fang Xuanling (578–648) and others.

jitoku (C. *zide*) 自得. See *zide*.

jitsu (C. *shi*) 実. See *xushi*.

jōza 定座. The reserved locations for the verses on the moon (*tsuki*) and the cherry blossoms (*hana*) in a linked verse sequence.

jūgen (C. *zhongyan* or *chongyan*) 重言. See *zhongyan*.

junzi 君子. A man of noble character, gentleman.

Kabashira no hyakku 蚊柱百句 (Swarming mosquitoes: One hundred verses, 1674). A *haikai* sequence by Nishiyama Sōin.

kabuki 歌舞伎. A form of traditional Japanese theater, initially dances performed by women, later developed into a sophisticated, highly stylized, and all-male theatrical form.

Kagami Shikō 各務支考 (1665–1731). Edo period *haikai* poet and one of Bashō's major disciples. He was a productive writer of *haikai* treatises but was accused of having forged writings in Bashō's name.

kago 歌語. Diction used in classical Japanese poetry, particularly the eight imperially commissioned *waka* anthologies (*hachidaishū*) from *Kokin waka shū* to *Shinkokin waka shū*.

Kakaishō 河海抄 (Notes of rivers and seas, ca. 1362–1367). A medieval Japanese commentary on *The Tale of Genji,* written by Yotsutsuji Yoshinari.

Kakyō hyōshiki 歌経標式 (Classics of Japanese poetry: Examples and forms, 772). The earliest extant work on Japanese poetics, written by Fujiwara no Hamanari.

Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155–1216). Medieval Japanese Buddhist priest and recluse poet well known for his essay on his ten-foot-square hut, *Hōjōki.*

Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769). Edo period "national learning" scholar and poet.

kan (C. *xian*) 閑 . See *xian*.

kanjaku 閑寂 . An aesthetic ideal advocated by Bashō. It rejects worldly values and seeks beauty in carefree idleness as well as the fundamental tranquility found in the harmonious fusion of nature and the poetic mind.

kanji 漢字. Chinese characters used in Japanese.

kanju (C. *hanru*) 寒儒 . See *hanru*.

kanshi 漢詩. Poetry written in Chinese composed by Japanese poets.

kanshibun chō 漢詩文調. Chinese style *haikai* that became popular during the early 1680s.

karumi 軽み. Lightness, a poetic principle advocated by Bashō during his final years. It emphasizes naturalness and spontaneity as opposed to the heavy conceptual implication of earlier *haikai*.

kasa 過差. Luxury, extravagance, used in medieval Japanese texts to suggest sensuous and flashy beauty.

kasen 歌仙. A thirty-six-verse sequence of linked verse, a style popular in Bashō's time.

Kashima no ki かしまの紀 (A journey to Kashima, 1687). One of Bashō's travel accounts.

Kawai Sora 河合曽良 (1649–1710). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

keiki 景気. Landscape style, referring to poems that focus on nature scenes. A dominant style of *haikai* during the Genroku period.

Ken'ō 謙翁 (d. 1405). Ken'ō Sōi, a Muromachi period Zen master with whom Ikkyū Sōjun studied Zen.

ki (C. *qi*) 気 . See *qi*.

Kifū 枳風 (dates unknown). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

Kigin 季吟. See Kitamura Kigin.

kigo 季語. Seasonal word, a word indicating the season of a verse.

Kikaku 其角. See Takarai Kikaku.

Kikigaki nanuka gusa 聞書七日草 (Notes taken during seven days, 1716–1736). Notes taken by Zushi Rogan on Bashō's teaching during his journey to the deep north; edited by Rogan's disciple Tsuchida Chikudō.

kikōbun 紀行文. Literary travel account, usually accompanied by a poem or poems.

Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (ca. 872–945). One of the principle compilers of the first imperially commissioned *waka* anthology, the *Kokin waka shū*, and the attributed author of the earliest existing Japanese literary travel journal, *Tosa Nikki* (Tosa diary).

Kinrai haikai fūteishō 近来俳諧風躰抄 (Notes on recent *haikai* styles, 1679). *Haikai* treatises written by Okanishi Ichū.

Kinshū dan 錦繡段 (Collection of brocade pieces). An anthology of Chinese poems from the Tang (618–907) through the Yuan (1206–1368) dynasties, compiled by Ten'in Ryūtaku (1422–1500).

kireji 切字. Cutting word in linked verse. Used in the opening verse to help create an autonomous and sophisticated poetic world with seventeen syllables.

kiryoka 覊旅歌. Travel poems found in the oldest anthology of Japanese poetry, *Manyōshū*.

Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624–1705). Edo period *haikai* master and scholar of *waka* and *haikai* poetics.

Kiyohara no Nobukata 清原宣賢 (1475–1550). Late Muromachi period Confucian scholar.

Kiyosuke 清輔. See Fujiwara no Kiyosuke.

Kōbaku no no (C. Guang mo zhi ye) 廣莫之野. See Guang mo zhi ye.

kōgo kizoku 高悟帰俗. Awakening to the lofty and returning to the common, a poetic principle advocated by Bashō.

Kojiki 古事記 (Records of ancient matters, 712). The oldest known chronicle of ancient Japan and its creation myths.

"Kojiki no okina" 乞食の翁 (An old beggar, 1681). A short *haibun* piece written by Bashō on his plantain hut.

Kokin denju 古今伝授. The secret transmission of traditions and interpretations of poetry in the *Kokin waka shū*.

Kokinshū 古今集 . See *Kokin waka shū*.

Kokin waka shū 古今和歌集 (Anthology of Japanese poetry: Ancient and present, ca. 905). The first anthology of Japanese poems compiled by imperial command, organized according to various themes, including the four seasons, love, travel, laments, and miscellaneous topics. Also, *Kokinshū*.

kokkei (C. *guji* or *huaji*) 滑稽. See *guji*.

kōkoku 皇国. Divine imperial state, a term used to accentuate the supremacy of imperial Japan.

kokoro 心. Heart, mind, spirit, intention, an idea or thought. The word is used in Japanese poetics to imply a poetic idea, a poetic feeling, or the author's intention.

kokoro-zuke 心付. Linking the previous verse and the following verse by content or meaning (*kokoro*), one of the major ways of joining verses together in linked verse composition.

kokugaku 国学. "National learning," the study of the native classics; flourished in Japan during the eighteenth century.

Komparu Zenchiku 金春禅竹 (1405–ca. 1470). Muromachi period *nō* dramatist and playwright.

Kōno Riyū 河野李由 (1662–1705). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

Konton (C. Hundun) 渾沌; 混沌. See Hundun.

kōshokubon 好色本. Works of suggestive content popular in early modern Japan.

kotoba 詞, 言葉. Word, language; a term used in Japanese poetics to refer to poetic expressions or diction.

kotoba-zuke 詞付. Linking the previous and following verse by word. The word link is often based on conventionalized word associations (*engo*), pivot words (*kakekotoba*), and established classical associations (*yoriai*).

kuang (J. *kyō*) 狂. Literally meaning madness or insanity, the word in Chinese and Japanese literature implies behavior or thought that so radically transcends worldly concerns that it appears eccentric.

Kujō Tanemichi 九条稙通 (1505–1594). Late Muromachi period poet and scholar, with whom Matsunaga Teitoku studied *waka* and *The Tale of Genji*.

Kūkai 空海 (774–835). Early Heian Buddhist priest, scholar, and poet. He studied in Tang China and introduced Chinese literary criticism to Japan with his *Bunkyō hifu ron* (Mirrors of literature: Treatises of the secret treasury) and other writings.

Kukū 句空 (ca. 1648–1712). Edo period priest and *haikai* poet, one of Bashō's disciples.

Kukusai 栩々斉 (Flitting and fluttering study). The name of Bashō's study, derived from Zhuangzi's famous story about the butterfly's dream.

Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619–1691). Early Edo period Confucian scholar.

kyo (C. *xu*) 虚. See *xu*.

kyō (C. *kuang*) 狂. See *kuang*.

kyō (C. *xing*) 興. See *xing*.

kyōbun 狂文. Eccentric prose that is comic in nature or conveys unconventional ideas.

kyōgen 狂言. The comic plays that accompany *nō* plays; the interludes within a *nō* play. The leader of the Danrin *haikai* school defines *haikai* as the *kyōgen* of linked verse.

Kyōgoku Kōmon 京極黄門. See Fujiwara no Teika.

kyōka 狂歌. *Waka* written in the classic 31-syllable form but using parody, satire, or unconventional language to achieve comic effect or to assert the aesthetic of eccentricity.

kyōken 狂狷. Eccentric and nonconforming, a Chinese compound Bashō uses to advocate his aesthetic of eccentricity.

kyōku 狂句. Eccentric linked verse, refering to *haikai* as opposed to classical linked verse.

Kyō no mukashi けふの昔 (The time now past, 1699). A *haikai* anthology of representative *haikai* masters' verses, treatises, and anecdotes, compiled by Sakamoto Shusetsu.

Kyorai 去来. See Mukai Kyorai.

Kyorai shō 去来抄 (Kyorai's notes, compiled 1704, published 1775). One of the most important works on the Shōmon School *haikai* theories, written by Mukai Kyorai.

Kyoriku 許六. See Morikawa Kyoriku.

kyōshi 狂詩. Eccentric poem in Chinese written by Japanese, as opposed to classical *kanshi*.

Kyosui 虚水. See Wada Kyosui.

Kyōunshū 狂雲集 (Crazy clouds anthology). A collection of poems by Zen master Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481).

Kyo Ya shōsoku 許野消息 (The correspondences between Kyoriku and Yaba, 1785). Letters exchanged between Shōmon poets Kyoriku and Yaba, edited by Miyake Shōzan (1718–1801).

Laozi 老子. Possibly mythical Chinese philosopher of approximately the sixth century BCE, who is credited with writing the seminal Daoist classic, the *Dao de jing*. This text is also referred to as the *Laozi*.

Laozi Juanzhai kouyi 老子鬳齋口義 (Juanzhai's vernacular explanation of the *Laozi*). An annotative work on Laozi's *Dao de jing* by the Song scholar Lin Xiyi (ca. 1200–1273).

Lian zhu shi ge 聯珠詩格; also *Jing xuan Tang Song qian jia lian zhu shi ge* (Strings of pearls: A classified selection from Tang and Song Poets). A collection of Chinese verses compiled by Yu Ji and Cai Zhengsun. The work was lost in China but has many reprints in Japan.

Li Bo (J. Ri Haku) 李白 (701–762). One of the greatest Tang dynasty poets, revered in both China and Japan and frequently cited by Bashō.

Lidai shihua 歷代詩話 (Remarks on poetry from past ages, 1770). An anthology of literary criticism from the Liang (502–557) to Ming (1368–1644) dynasties; compiled by He Wenhuan.

Liezi 列子. Lie Kou, a Daoist philosopher in the Warring States period (475 BCE–221 BCE).

Linji (J. Rinzai) 臨濟. The founder of the Linji (J. Rinzai) sect of Chan (Zen) Buddhism, whose teaching was first brought to Japan by Eisai in 1191.

Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (ca. 1200–1273). Song dynasty scholar-official, whose liter-

ary name was Juanzai. His vernacular explanations of the Daoist classics were widely read in Japan in Bashō's day.

Liu Ling 劉伶 . Western Jin (265–316) official and an eccentric scholar, one of the Seven Worthies of Bamboo Grove.

liuyi (J. *rikugi*) 六義. The six principles stated in the "Great Preface" to the *Shi jing* (Classic of poetry), which represent the Confucian view of the nature and function of poetry, influential in both China and Japan.

Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444). Prince Linchuan of the Liu-Song dynasty, the attributed author of *Shi shuo xin yu*.

Liuzu fabao tanjing 六祖法寶壇經 (The platform sutra of the sixth patriarch). Attributed to Huineng (638–713), the founder of the "Southern Chan."

Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303). Western Jin official-poet, author of *Wen fu* (The poetic exposition on literature), one of the most influential works in traditional Chinese literary theory.

Lü Wang 呂望. Also Jiang Wang, a legendary recluse of the Western Zhou dynasty (ca. 1100 BCE–771 BCE). It is said that he was discovered by King Wen of Zhou and helped found the Zhou dynasty. Better known as Jiang Ziya.

maeku 前句. A previous verse in a linked verse sequence. It can be either seventeen or fourteen syllables.

makoto (C. *cheng*) 誠 . See *cheng*.

Makura no sōshi 枕草子 (The pillow book, ca. 1000). A collection of essays of varying length by Sei Shōnagon. It is one of the best known classical texts of the Japanese prose genre *zuihitsu*.

manku 万句. A ten-thousand-verse sequence of linked verse.

Manyōshū 万葉集 (Anthology of ten thousand leaves, 749). The oldest known collection of Japanese poetry.

Matsukura Ranran 松倉嵐蘭 (1647–1693). Edo period *haikai* poet and one of Bashō's disciples.

Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 (1571–1653). Early Edo *waka*, *renga*, and *haikai* poet and scholar of classical Japanese literature, who laid the foundation of *haikai* by providing it with compositional rules and making it available to common people.

Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694). Edo period *haikai* master and one of Japan's greatest poets, whose poetry raised *haikai* to its highest level.

meisho 名所. Famous place. In Japanese poetry it refers specifically to places that are famous in classical literary texts and rich in established poetic associations. Used as one of the important intertextual devices.

Minashiguri 虚栗 (Empty chestnuts, 1683). A *haikai* anthology that contains verses by Bashō and his circle and shows a strong interest in the Chinese style; compiled by Takarai Kikaku.

misao みさを. Righteousness, personal integrity. In early Japanese texts, the word is sometimes written in a Chinese compound commonly read

fūryū (風流), indicating a blending of ethical and aesthetic values in its meaning.

miyabi みやび; 雅. Elegance, unworldly refinement, an aesthetic ideal of art and life prominent during the Heian period, exemplified by the hero of *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*). The word is also written in a Chinese compound commonly read *fūryū* (風流) in the eighth-century Japanese texts.

Miyake Shōzan 三宅嘯山 (1718–1801). Edo period merchant and poet; the compiler of *Kyo Ya shōsoku* (The correspondences between Kyoriku and Yaba).

Mizu no tomo 水の友 (Friends of water, 1724). A *haikai* anthology in memory of Mizuta Masahide (1657–1723); compiled by Nishikawa Shōhi.

mōgo 猛語. A word used by Bashō in *Oi no kobumi*, it means "reckless words." Together with *bōchō,* the word describes the author's iconoclastic attitude as opposed to the melancholy sentiment of the classical literary travel journals. Possibly derived from the *Zhuangzi.* A word of the same pronunciation written in two different Chinese characters, 妄語, is a Buddhist term meaning "lies."

mondōka 問答歌. Dialogue songs, found in the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters).

monoawase 物合. Matching contest, a game popular among Heian aristocrats, in which pairs of things, such as fans, paintings, and flowers, are matched to decide the winner. Often held along with poetry contests.

mono no aware 物の哀, もののあはれ. Approximately, the pathos of things; the term designates a capacity to be moved by phenomena of the external world; advocated by Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), a *kokugaku* (national learning) scholar, to define the essence of Japanese aesthetics, especially as found in the *Genji monogatari.*

Morikawa Kyoriku 森川許六 (1656–1715). Edo *haikai* poet and one of Bashō's major disciples; a prolific writer of *haikai* treatises.

Moritake 守武. See Arakida Moritake.

mui (C. *wuwei*) 無為. See *wuwei.*

mujō 無情 (C. *wuqing*). See *wuqing.*

Mukai Kyorai 向井去来 (1651–1704). Edo period *haikai* poet and one of Bashō's major disciples; author of *Kyoraishō* (Kyorai's notes), records of Bashō's teaching on *haikai*.

Mu ka u no sato (C. Wu he you zhi xiang) 無何有之郷. See Wu he you zhi xiang.

Mumu Issei 無夢一清 (1294–1368). Late Kamakura–early Muromachi period Zen master.

Murata Shukō 村田珠光 (1422–1502). Muromachi period Zen priest and the founder of the "grass hut" style of tea ceremony.

Musashiburi 武蔵曲 (The Musashi song, 1682). An anthology of *haikai* by Shōmon poets and poets of their circle.

Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351). Late Kamakura–early Muromachi period Zen master and founder of Tenryū-ji temple.

Musū Ryōshin 夢嵩良真 (d. 1281). Kamakura period Zen master and founder of Reishū-ji temple.

Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608–1648). Early Edo period Confucian scholar.

Nanguo Ziqi 南郭子綦. Ziqi of South Wall, the stepbrother of King Zhao of Chu. He is portrayed in the *Zhuangzi* as a Daoist sage.

Nanhua zhen jing 南華真經 (True doctrines of Nanhua). Used to refer to the *Zhuangzi*.

Nenggaizhai man lu 能改斎漫録(Notes from Nenggaizhai). A collection of textual commentaries on a variety of materials, including historical and geographical records, literary history, and poetry. Compiled by Southern Song writer Wu Ceng.

Nihon ryōiki 日本霊異記 (Record of spirits and miracles in Japan, ca. 823). A collection of miraculous stories from the Japanese Buddhist tradition.

Nihon shoki 日本書紀 (A written record of Japan, 720). One of the oldest existing imperially commissioned chronicles of Japan.

Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–1388). Medieval *waka* and *renga* poet and scholar of classical poetics who codified *renga* rules and compiled the first classical linked verse collection, *Tsukuba shū*.

ni no ori 二の折. The second sheet of the poetry record for linked verse.

nioi-zuke 匂付. Literally, "link by scent," it refers to a type of link favored by Bashō in which the implications or atmosphere of the previous verse linger to permeate the following verse like the fragrance of flowers.

Nishikawa Shōhi 西川松琵 (1672–1750). Edo period *haikai* poet.

Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605–1682). Edo period *haikai* master and the leader of the Danrin School.

Nozarashi kikō 野ざらし紀行 (A weather-beaten journey, 1685). One of Bashō's travel accounts. It has alternative titles, including *Kusamakura*, *Nozarashi no shū*, and *Kasshi ginkō*.

Nupeppō ぬぺっぽう; 渾沌. Also Nuppepō or Nuppeppō. A harmless creature in Japanese ghost stories that does not have a clearly formed face and whose head is undistinguishable from its body. Bashō used the name of this creature to transliterate the Chinese characters 渾沌 (Hundun), the name of a fictional figure in the *Zhuangzi* that also has an undifferentiated face, in one of his verses. See Hundun.

Ōan shinshiki 応安新式 (New codes of Ōan, 1372). Also called *Renga shinshiki* (New codes of *renga*), a comprehensive work compiled by the celebrated *renga* master Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388) on the compositional rules for linked verse.

Ōgishō 奥義抄 (Notes on poetic profundities, 1124–1144). A representative work of *waka* poetics compiled by late Heian period poet and critic Fujiwara no Kiyosuke.

Oi nikki 笈日記 (Diary in my pannier, 1695). A collection of *haikai* verses and *haibun* pieces in memory of Bashō; compiled by Kagami Shikō.

Oi no kobumi 笈の小文 (Essay in my pannier, ca. 1690). One of Bashō's travel accounts and a representative work of the genre.

Okanishi Ichū 岡西惟中 (1639–1711). Edo period *haikai* poet and theorist of the Danrin School.

Oku no hosomichi 奥の細道 (Narrow road to the depths, 1694). The best-known travel account by Bashō and a representative work of the genre.

omote 表. Literally, the surface, the outside, or the front; the term in linked verse refers to the front page of the poetry sheet, particularly the front page of the first sheet of the poetry record.

Onitsura 鬼貫. See Uejima Onitsura.

Orandamaru niban sen 阿蘭陀丸二番船 (Holland II, 1680). A *haikai* anthology representative of the liberal style of the Danrin School; compiled by Kihara Sōen (fl. 1673–1684).

Ōzaka dokugin shū 大坂独吟集 (The Ozaka collection of solo sequences, 1675). A collection of solo *haikai* sequences by Danrin poets with Nishiyama Sōin's commentary.

Pengzu 彭祖. A character in Chinese legend, known for his longevity.

qi (J. *ki*) 氣. Air, breath, smell, energy, spirit, mind, heart, vitality, and so forth. Polysemous and elusive in both Chinese and Japanese, the term in the Daoist epistemology refers to a kind of natural and fluid substratum of the cosmos and all phenomena. Bashō uses the term to denote the natural state or the spontaneous operation of the poetic mind.

"Qi wu lun" 齊物論 (Discussion on making all things equal). The title given by the text's editor to the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Rakushisha no ki 落柿舎の記 (On The Fallen Persimmons Cottage, 1691). A short *haibun* written by Bashō on Mukai Kyorai's cottage.

Ranran 嵐蘭. See Matsukura Ranran.

Ransetsu 嵐雪. See Hattori Ransetsu.

Ranxiang 冉相. An ancient sage-ruler in Chinese legend. He appears in the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Rekidai kokkei den 歴代滑稽傳 (A history of comic poetry, 1715). *Haikai* history written by Morikawa Kyoriku, including biographies of the *haikai* masters.

renga 連歌. Linked verses, consisting of alternating seventeen- and fourteen-syllable verses.

Renga shinshiki 連歌新式 . See *Ōan shinshiki*.

rikugi (C. *liuyi*) 六義. See *liuyi*.

Rinzai (C. Linji) 臨濟. See Linji.

Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263). Wei dynasty (220–265) thinker, poet, and scholar-official who preoccupied himself with Daoist philosophy and literary writing in order to stay away from politics. Remembered as one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove.

Ruan Xian 阮咸 . Western Jin (265–316) poet-official and nephew of Ruan Ji, known as one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove.

sabi さび. Derived from words that mean wane, lonely, still, and desolation, it is an aesthetic, poetic ideal fostered by late Heian and medieval Japanese poets. It seeks beauty and poetic depth in solitude and tranquility. Advocated by Bashō in *haikai* with an emphasis on the profound stillness and carefree leisure achieved through the harmonious fusion of nature and the poetic mind.

Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190). Late Heian and early Kamakura priest and one of Japan's greatest poets, well known for his travel-inspired poetry, which had a deep impact on Bashō.

Sakamoto Shusetsu 坂本朱拙 (1653–1733). Edo period physician and *haikai* poet who became associated with Shōmon poets after Bashō's death.

Sanpū 杉風. See Sugiyama Sanpū.

"Sansei zu san" 三聖図賛 (Eulogy on the painting of the Three Sages, ca. 1692–1693). A short *haibun* Bashō wrote in his later years on a painting of Sōgi, Sōkan, and Moritake.

San ti shi 三体詩 (Poems of three forms). A collection of poems in three major forms of Tang poetry: quatrain, heptasyllabic, and pentasyllabic regulated poem. The complete title of the collection is *Tang xian san ti shi jia fa* (The essence of poems by the best Tang poets: Three basic forms), compiled by Zhou Bi (1200–ca. 1257).

Sanzōshi 三冊子 (Three books, comp. 1702). Treatises on *haikai* theory by Bashō's disciple Hattori Dohō. It is one of the most important works of the Shōmon *haikai* theory.

Sarashina kikō 更級紀行 (A journey to Sarashina, 1688). A *haikai* travel account by Bashō.

Sarumino 猿蓑 (Monkey's straw raincoat, 1691). The fifth and most influential of the *haikai* anthologies produced by Bashō's *haikai* circle.

Satoe nana kuruma 仏兄七くるま (Satoe's seven vehicles, ca. 1720–1732). An anthology of *hokku* verses by Uejima Onitsura.

Satomura Jōha 里村紹巴 (1524–1602). Late Muromachi period *renga* master who taught Matsunaga Teitoku *renga*.

Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (b. ca. 966). Heian period woman writer, the author of *Makura no sōshi* (The pillow book).

sekibaku 寂寞. Originally meaning "loneliness" or "lonesome" in Chinese, the compound is used by Bashō's disciple Kagami Shikō (1665–1731) to describe the essential mood of *haikai* in the sense of humble solitude.

senku 千句. A thousand-verse sequence of linked verse.

Shanhugou shihua 珊瑚鉤詩話 (Coral remarks on poetry). Commentaries on selected poems and works from the Six dynasties (420–589) to the Northern Song (960–1127), written by Song dynasty critic Zhang Biaochen.

Shan Tao 山濤 (205–283). Western Jin recluse-scholar, who later became an official. One of the Severn Worthies of the Bamboo Grove.

share しゃれ, 洒落. Normally meaning “witty” or “witticism,” the word is used by the Shōmon *haikai* poets to characterize Du Fu’s poetry in the sense of “natural and unrestrained.”

shi (J. *jitsu*) 実. See *xushi*.

shi (J. *shi*) 詩. Poetry. The term also describes specifically Chinese poems of regulated lines and poems in Chinese composed by Japanese.

Shibu’uchiwa しぶうちわ; 渋団 (An astringent fan, 1674). A *haikai* treatise criticizing Nishiyama Sōin’s linked verse sequence *Kabashira no hyakku*. Attributed to Saruhōshi, which literally means “a monk who has passed by.”

Shibu’uchiwa hentō しぶ団返答 (A response to “An astringent fan,” 1675). A *haikai* treatise written by the Danrin School poet Okanishi Ichū.

Shida Yaba 志太野坡 (1662–1740). One of the major disciples of Bashō and the compiler of *Sumidawara* (Charcoal sack, 1694), a *haikai* anthology that embodies Bashō’s poetic principle of lightness.

shigen (C. *zhiyan*) 巵言. See *zhiyan*.

shigure 時雨. A drizzling shower. A seasonal word in Japanese poetry.

Shiinomoto Saimaro 椎本才麿 (1656–1738). Edo period *haikai* poet, who collaborated with Bashō in *haikai* composition and actively promoted the Chinese-style *haikai* in the early 1680s.

Shi jing 詩經 (Classic of poetry). The most influential collection of Chinese poems, the work is one of the five classics traditionally said to have been edited by Confucius. The extant Mao version of the collection comprises a commentary for each of the poems, called “Small Preface” (*xiaoxu*) and “Great Preface” (*daxu*), which were considered an integral part of Confucian teaching and set the orthodoxy of classical Chinese poetry.

Shikō 支考. See Kagami Shikō.

Shilin shihua 石林詩話 (Shilin’s remarks on poetry). Poetry criticism written by Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) critic Ye Mengde (1077–1148).

Shinkei 心敬 (1406–1475). Early Muromachi priest, *waka* poet, and *renga* master.

Shinsen tsukuba shū 新選菟玖波集 (New Tsukuba anthology, 1495). A collection of classical linked verse compiled by Sōgi (1421–1502), Inawashiro Kenzai (1452–1510), and others. Unlike the earlier *Tsukuba anthology,* this collection excluded the *haikai*-style linked verse.

Shi pin 詩品 (Classifications of poetry, ca. 513–517). Criticism of poetry from the Han to the Liang dynasties, written by Zhong Rong.

Shiren yu xie 詩人玉屑 (Gemlike words of poets). A collection of excerpts from the poetic remarks of the Song dynasty, compiled by Wei Qingzhi. The work has many editions printed in early modern Japan.

Shisan 子珊 (d. 1699). Edo period *haikai* poet and one of Bashō’s disciples.

Shi shuo xin yu 世説新語 (New tales from the world). A fifth-century work attributed to Liu Yiqing. The work records the words and deeds of the elites during the end of the Latter Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties.

Shi si lun 釋私論 (On my thoughts). Written by Jin dynasty thinker, poet, and musician Ji Kang.

Shiyū 支幽. See Yoshida Shiyū.

*shizen (*C. *ziran)* 自然. See *ziran*.

Shizen mui (C. *ziran wuwei*) 自然無為 . See *ziran wuwei*.

shizuka 静 or 閑. Still, quiet, tranquil, inactive.

shō chiku bai (C. *song zhu mei*) 松竹梅. See *song zhu mei*.

Shoku Nihongi 続日本紀 (Sequel to the record of Japan, 797). A chronicle compiled as the sequel to *Nihon shoki* (A written record of Japan).

Shōmon 蕉門. Bashō's disciples and followers; emerged as a *haikai* school in Edo around 1680 and spread with Bashō's journeys from 1684.

shoori 初折り. The first sheet of poetry record for linked verse.

shōyōyū (C. *xiaoyaoyou*) 逍遙遊. See *xiaoyaoyou*.

Shōyūken 逍遊軒 (Study of carefree wandering). Matsunaga Teitoku's penname derived from the term *xiaoyaoyou* 逍遥遊 in the *Zhuangzi*.

Shu Qi 叔斉. An ancient Chinese recluse who, according to legend, retreated into the mountains in order to let his older brother Bo Yi succeed the lordship. Later, under the new reign when Zhou overthrew Yin, he refused to eat and, together with his brother, starved to death in the mountains.

Sōchō 宗長 (1448–1532). Muromachi period Zen priest and *renga* poet, a disciple of Ikkyū Sōjun and Sōgi.

Sodō 素堂. See Yamaguchi Sodō.

Sōgaku (C. *Songxue*) 宋学. See *Songxue*.

Sōgi 宗祇 (1421–1502). Muromachi period Zen priest, *renga* master, and scholar.

Sōin 宗因. See Nishiyama Sōin.

Sōji shō 荘子抄 (Notes on the *Zhuangzi*). A Japanese annotative work on Lin Xiyi's *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* (Juanzhai's vernacular explanations of the *Zhuangzi*), attributed to Kiyohara no Nobukata (1475–1550).

Sōkan 宗鑑. See Yamazaki Sōkan.

sōmonka 相聞歌. Corresponsive poems (often love exchanges), one of the three major categories of the oldest Japanese poetic anthology *Manyōshū*.

Songxue (J. *Sōgaku*) 宋学. Song Confucian learning, primarily developed in the Song dynasty (960–1279) to address questions raised by Daoist and Buddhist metaphysics. It became influential in Japan during the Tokugawa period.

song zhu mei (J. *shō chiku bai*) 松竹梅. Pine, bamboo, and plum blossoms—three prominent themes and felicitous, congratulatory images in Chinese and Japanese art and literature.

Sora 曽良. See Kawai Sora.

Sora zuikō nikki 曾良随行日記 (Travel with the master: Sora's journal, 1689). A diary written by Bashō's disciple Sora while accompanying Bashō during his trip to the deep north.

Sōyō 宗養 (1526–1563). Muromachi period *renga* master.

Su Dongpo 蘇東坂. See Su Shi.

Suganoya Takamasa 菅野谷高政 (dates unknown). Edo period *haikai* poet and the compiler of *Haikai tsune no sugata*.

sugata 姿. The individual style or configuration of a poem.

Sugiyama Sanpū 杉山杉風 (1647–1732). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

suki 数奇. Devotion to an art or pleasure.

Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101). Song dynasty scholar-official, calligrapher, and one of the greatest Chinese poets admired by Bashō and his fellow *haikai* poets.

Taisui 岱水 (ca. 1684–1711). Edo period *haikai* poet associated with Bashō.

Takahashi Dosui 高橋怒誰 (ca. 1688–1704). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō. He derived his pen name, Dosui, from a phrase in the second chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, "nu zhe qi shui" 怒者其誰.

Takaragura 宝蔵 (The treasure house, 1671). A pioneering anthology of *haibun* (*haikai* prose) written by Yamaoka Genrin.

Takarai Kikaku 宝井其角 (1661–1707). One of Bashō's major disciples; made important contributions to the rise of the Shōmon School.

tanrenga 短連歌. Short linked verse consisting of only an opening verse and an added verse, as opposed to *chōrenga* (long linked verse) which has three or more verses.

Tao Jingjie ji 陶靖節集 (Tao Jingjie anthology). A collection of works by Jin dynasty (265–420) recluse-poet Tao Qian. It was reprinted a number of times in early modern Japan and some of the Japanese editions included Kikuchi Kōsai's (1618–1682) punctuation marks for rendering Chinese into Japanese.

Tao Qian 陶潜 (365–427). The foremost Chinese recluse-poet whom Bashō cited frequently in his *haikai*. His literary name was Yuangming.

Tao Yuangming 陶淵明. See Tao Qian.

Teimon 貞門. Matsunaga Teitoku's immediate disciples and later *haikai* poets who followed his tradition. The school emphasized *haigon* (*haikai* words) and compositional regulations based on the classical linked verse. Reached its peak during 1624–1673.

Teitoku 貞徳. See Matsunaga Teitoku.

ten (C. *tian*) 天. See *tian*.

Ten'in Ryūtaku 天隠竜沢 (1422–1500). Muromachi period Zen priest and one of the most important writers of Gozan literature.

tenkō (C. *tiangong*) 天工. See *tiangong*.

tenrai (C. *tianlai*) 天籟. See *tianlai*.

Tensuishō 天水抄 (Notes of heavens and waters, 1644). *Haikai* treatises written by Matsunaga Teitoku, which emphasize the importance of the classical *waka* and *renga* tradition to *haikai.*

tentori haikai 点取俳諧. Point-earning *haikai,* whose practitioners compete with each other to gain points from the professional *haikai* master who grades their compositions.

tian (J. *ten*) 天. Heaven, a term widely used in Chinese and Japanese thought with various connotations. In Daoist discourse it means primarily the *Dao,* or the natural Way of the universe.

tiangong (J. *tenkō*) 天工. Literally meaning "Heaven's work," it is used to describe the superb quality of an artistic creation, particularly the natural and artless quality of a work.

tianlai (J. *tenrai*) 天籟. The piping of Heaven. Originally used in the *Zhuangzi* as a metaphor for the spontaneous way in which the *Dao* works, the word was later applied widely in Chinese literary criticism to describe natural and spontaneous expressions. Bashō borrowed this usage of the term to discuss *haikai.*

tianni 天倪. The Heavenly Equality, a term used by the *Zhuangzi* to designate the innate equality of all things and beings and their unison with the *tian* (Heaven) or the *Dao* (the Way).

Tokiwaya no kuawase 常磐屋之句合 (*Hokku* contest of the everlasting, 1680). Fifty verses by Sugiyama Sanpū arranged in the format of a poetry contest with Bashō's commentary.

Tō Kyoshi monnan ben 答許子問難弁 (Reply to the accusations of Kyoriku). A *haikai* treatise by Mukai Kyorai.

Tong Lao lun 通老論 (Understanding the *Laozi*). An interpretive work on Laozi's *Dao de jing*, written by the Wei dynasty scholar-official Ruan Ji.

toriawase 取り合わせ. Combination; in *haikai* it refers to a poetic method that combines two or more topics, images, or themes in a verse to achieve powerful effects.

Tosa nikki 土佐日記 (The Tosa diary, ca. 935). The oldest existing Japanese literary travel journal, attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki.

Tōsei 桃青. One of Bashō's pen names. It literally means "peach green," suggesting an association and comparison with the great Chinese poet Li Bo, whose name literally means "plum white."

Tōsei montei dokugin nijikkasen 桃青門弟独吟二十歌仙 (Twenty solo *kasen* sequences by the disciples of Tōsei, 1680). A *haikai* anthology by Bashō's disciples.

tsukeku 付句. The capping verse in linked poetry.

Tsukubashū 筑玖波集 (The Tsukuba anthology, 1356). The first collection of classical linked verse recognized by the imperial court. Compiled by Nijō Yoshimoto with the assistance of his teacher Gusai.

Tsurezuregusa 徒然草 (Essays in Idleness, 1330–1331). A representative work

of Japanese aesthetics, recluse literature, and *zuihitsu,* or prose of miscellaneous reflections and observations, written by Yoshida Kenkō.

Uda no hōshi 宇陀法師 (A priest from Uda, 1702). *Haikai* treatises written by Kōno Riyū and Morikawa Kyoriku.

Uejima Onitsura 上島鬼貫 (1661–1738). Edo period *haikai* poet who advocated that "without sincerity (*makoto*), there is no *haikai*," thus promoting a change of *haikai* from wild fabrication to truthfulness and verisimilitude.

umoregi 埋木. A buried tree. An image of a tree that transformed into an imperishable substance when hidden under floating water, *umoregi* is a potent signifier in Japanese poetry, often serving as a metaphor for the classical tradition.

ura 裏. The reverse side, the back, the rare, used in linked verse to refer to the back page of a sheet for recording poems.

ushin no renga 有心の連歌. *Ushin* in *waka* and *renga* means to contain deep feelings or meaning. *Ushin no renga* designates the serious type of linked verse that conveys the classical poetic tradition and spirit.

utamakura 歌枕. The word originally referred to the classical poetic diction or a handbook of such diction, and later came to refer specifically to famous places in classical poetry. Revered in *haikai* composition.

wabi わび. An aesthetic and moral principle that finds beauty in austere types of things and seeks spiritual and poetic depth in a modest, simple life free of worldly concerns. Originating in the medieval eremitic tradition and later advocated by Bashō as a poetic ideal, its implications overlap with that of *sabi* and *fūryū* in Bashō's writings.

Wada Kyosui 和田虚水 (dates unknown). An Edo period retainer who studied *haikai* and the *Zhuangzi* with the Shōmon poets.

waka 和歌. Classical Japanese poem of thirty-one syllables in a 5/7/5/7/7 syllabic pattern.

wakiku 脇句. The second verse in a linked verse sequence, consisting of fourteen syllables.

wang (J. *wasure*) 忘. Literally "to forget," it is used in the Daoist epistemology to suggest the eradication of subjective consciousness and worldly concerns, a mental state for attaining the *Dao.* Similar usage of the word is found in Bashō's *haikai* prose, which asserts forgetting worldly concerns as the essential way to produce true art.

Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086). Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) politician, thinker, and writer.

Wang Chong 王充 (27 CE–ca. 97 CE). Eastern Han dynasty (25–220) philosopher and one of the first Chinese writers to apply Daoist ideas in literary criticism.

Wang Rong 王戎 (265–317). Western Jin dynasty (265–317) scholar-official, known as one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove.

Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590). Ming dynasty (1368–1644) scholar-official and literary critic.

Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1711). Qing dynasty (1644–1911) poet and literary critic.

Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–386). Jin dynasty (265–420) literatus and calligrapher, described as a man of *fengliu* by the *Book of Jin* for his unconventional behavior and refined manner.

wasure (C. *wang*) 忘 . See *wang*.

Wei-Jin 魏晉. The Wei and Jin dynasties (220–420).

Wei-Jin *fengliu* 魏晉風流 . An aesthetic and ethical ideal developed by literati such as the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove during the Wei-Jin period in China. Based on a belief in transcending the conventional standards of judgment and following one's innate nature, it sought beauty and moral integrity in the natural and the unconventional, and its practitioners and their works typically demonstrate a unique combination of eccentricity and refinement.

Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之 (fl. 1240–1244). Song scholar and the compiler of *Shiren yu xie*, whose foreword describes him as someone who "despised an official career, but only cared for his chrysanthemums."

Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737–ca. 786). Tang dynasty poet, well known for his simple and placid style and his depictions of gardens and fields.

wen (J. *bun*) 文 . Broadly meaning letters or literature, the word also refers specifically to a composition or a writing.

Wen fu 文賦 (The poetic exposition on literature). One of the earliest works on Chinese literary theories, written by Western Jin dynasty scholar-poet Lu Ji (261–303).

Wen Tong 文 同 (1018–1079). Northern Song (960–1127) poet and painter, known for being especially good at painting bamboo. A distant cousin of the famous Song poet Su Shi. His literary name is Yuke.

wenya (J. *bunga*) 文雅. Elegant, refined, cultured, polished. Also refers to the elegance of letters.

Wu Ceng 呉曽 (dates unknown). Southern Song (1127–1279) official and writer, the compiler of *Nenggaizhai manlu*.

Wu he you zhi xiang (J. Mu ka u no sato) 無何有之鄉. Not-Even-Anything Village, a fictional place-name in the *Zhuangzi*, which implies a world free of established values and institutions.

wuhua 物化. A concept in the *Zhuangzi*, the term has been interpreted as transformation of things or transformation with things. Used in Chinese literature and arts to emphasize the awareness of and merging with the perpetual change and transformation of things during the creative aesthetic process.

wuqing (J. *mujō*) 無情. Literally, heartless, unfeeling. Used in the Shōmon School *haikai* treatises to refer to detachment or an aesthetic distance between the poet and the object to be treated.

wuwei (J. *mui*) 無為. A notion pivotal at multiple levels of the Daoist discourse,

the term is variously translated as inaction, nonaction, act naturally, not doing, naturalness, spontaneity, and noninterference. In the aesthetic dimension, it denotes the elimination of all conscious striving through which one spontaneously responds and adheres to the *Dao*, or the natural flow of the universe. This is considered to be the ultimate state for a creative aesthetic process.

xian (J. *kan*) 閑 Unhurried, unoccupied, idle, leisure. In the *Zhuangzi* the word indicates a state of mind that is free of worldly worries, hence is unhurried, broad, and open to embracing the *Dao.* Bashō was inspired by this idea, and carefree idleness became an important theme of his *haikai*.

Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca. 227–272). Wei-Jin period philosopher, writer, and official, one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove. It is believed that Guo Xiang's influential commentary on the *Zhuangzi* was based on his unfinished draft.

xiaosa 瀟洒. Natural and unrestrained, often used to describe the behavior or temperament of a cultivated person.

Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531). Also known as Prince Zhaoming. The collection of literary works (*Wen xuan*) he selected and compiled was influential in both China and Japan.

xiaoyao 逍遙. Leisurely and carefree.

xiaoyaoyou (J. *shōyōyū*) 逍遙遊. Variously translated as free-and-easy wandering, carefree wandering, and carefree meandering, it is advocated by the Daoist classic *Zhuangzi* as a spiritual, ethical, and aesthetic ideal. Also used by the text's editor, Guo Xiang, as the title of the first chapter. Fundamentally emphasizing the complete emancipation of the individual, it highlights a quality or state resulting from being *ziran* (natural and spontaneous) and *wuwei* (in a state of inaction or noninterference), which the *Zhuangzi* reiterates as the perfect beauty and the manifestation of the *Dao.* This ideal had a profound impact on the themes and theories of Chinese literature and arts and was adapted by many Japanese writers, including Bashō.

Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433). Southern dynasties poet, known for his landscape poems.

Xikun chouchang ji 西昆酬唱集 (The Xikun anthology of corresponsive poems). A Northern Song dynasty anthology compiled by Yang Yi (974–1020) and his fellow poets. It exemplifies the Xikun style of poetry, characterized by excessive use of allusions and ornamental elements.

xing (J. *kyō*) 興. One of the *liuyi* (six principles) in *Shi jing* (Classic of poetry), the term refers to an affective image or situation, which stirs a particular response from the reader. It is translated as *tatoeuta*, or evocative songs, in the Japanese preface to the *Kokinshū*.

xin you 心遊. The free wandering of mind. A concept derived from the key notion in the *Zhuangzi, xiaoyaoyou* (carefree wandering), it accentuates the mental and spiritual emancipation of an individual.

xinzhai 心齊 (Fasting of the mind). A term used in the *Zhuangzi* to designate emptiness as the essential mental condition to attain the *Dao*.

xu (J. *kyo*) 虚. See *xushi*.

Xu Ling 徐陵 (507–583). Southern dynasties scholar-official and a representative poet of the palace-style poetry. He compiled the *Yu tai xin yong* (New poems from a jade terrace).

xushi (J. *kyojitsu*) 虚実. Interpreted variously as emptiness and substantiality, falsehood and truth, fabrication and verisimilitude, and so forth, this pair of concepts is used widely in Chinese philosophical, literary, medicinal, and military strategic discourses. It was first brought into Japanese literary theory by Kūkai in the ninth century to imply fabrication versus verisimilitude, and falsehood versus truth. Later *haikai* poetics frequently used the pair of concepts to discuss the nature and method of *haikai* through the balance between *kyo* and *jitsu*, placing great emphasis on *kyo* in *haikai* composition.

Xu You 許由. A recluse in Chinese legend whose name appears in the *Zhuangzi*. It is said that he rejected power and fame so completely that he washed his ears after having heard the legendary monarch Yao offer him rulership.

Yaba 野坡. See Shida Yaba.

Yakumo mishō 八雲御抄 (Yakumo treatises, ca. 1221). A collection of writings on *waka* poetics, compiled by Retired Emperor Juntoku.

Yamaguchi Sodō 山口素堂 (1642–1716). Edo period *waka*, *kanshi*, and *haikai* poet and a close friend of Bashō.

Yama no i 山の井 (Mountain spring, 1647). A work on the use of seasonal words in *haikai*, written by Kitamura Kigin.

Yamaoka Genrin 山岡元隣 (1631–1672). Edo period *haikai* poet and the author of the first *haibun* (*haikai* prose) collection. Disciple of Kitamura Kigin.

Yamazaki Sōkan 山崎宗鑑 (d. ca. 1539–1540). Late Muromachi period *renga* and *haikai* poet. Together with Arakida Moritake, he helped make *haikai no renga,* or the comic linked verse, an autonomous poetic form. Also known for his highly influential *haikai* anthology (*Shinsen*) *Inu Tsukubashū* (Dog Tsukuba anthology).

Yancheng Ziyou 顔成子游. Yancheng Yan, Ziqi's disciple, who appears in the second and twenty-seventh chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135). Northern Song dynasty Confucian scholar and disciple of the famous Song Confucian scholars Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi. Also known by his literary name, Guishan.

Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020). Northern Song dynasty poet. One of the major contributors to *Xikun chouchang ji* (The Xikun anthology of corresponsive poems).

Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. 1180–1235). Southern Song dynasty scholar and literary critic. The author of *Canglong shihua* (Poetic remarks of Canglong), an influential work of traditional Chinese literary criticism.

Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148). Song dynasty scholar-official and poet. The author of *Shilin shihau* (Shilin's remarks on poetry).

yōkyoku 謡曲. The recitation of *nō*; also refers to the text for the recitation and to *nō* itself.

yongwu 咏物. Poems composed on objects.

Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (ca. 1283–ca. 1352). Medieval Japanese poet and essayist, the author of the prime example of Japanese aesthetics and the *zuihitsu*-style prose, *Tsurezuregusa* (*Essays in Idleness*).

Yoshida Shiyū 吉田支幽 (dates unknown). An Edo period retainer who studied *haikai* and the *Zhuangzi* with the Shōmon poets.

Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻義成 (1326–1402). Medieval critic and lexicographer; the author of *Kakaishō* (Notes of rivers and seas), a commentary on *The Tale of Genji*.

you xin 遊心. To let (one's) mind wander. A recurrent expression in the *Zhuangzi*, it advocates the liberation of mind as the essential way to attain the *Dao*. Taken in Chinese literary theories as a precondition for supreme artistic sensibility.

yoyoshi 世吉. A forty-four-verse sequence of linked verse.

Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu 圓機活法詩學全書 (Practical knacks and workable methods: An encyclopedia of poetics). A manual of popular poetic themes and imagery attributed to the Ming dynasty critic Wang Shizhen (1526–1590).

Yu Ji 于濟 (dates unknown). Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) scholar and one of the compilers of *Lian zhu shi ge* (Strings of pearls: A classified selection from Tang and Song poets).

Yuke 与可. See Wen Tong.

Yu tai xin yong (J. *Gyokudai shinei*) 玉臺新咏(New poems from a jade terrace). A collection of poems of the Southern dynasties (420–589). Compiled by Xu Ling (507–583) under the supervision of Xiao Gang (503–551), the crown prince and, later, emperor of the Liang.

yuyan (J. *gūgen*) 寓言. Fable, allegory, parable. In the *Zhuangzi*, it refers to words spoken through the mouths of historical or fictional figures to make them more compelling. The Danrin School *haikai* poets took it as the essence of the *Zhuangzi* and used it as an essential literary device.

zaohua (J. *zōka*) 造化. Literally, "create and transform," the term is a key notion in the *Zhuangzi*, designating both the working of the *Dao*—the natural way in which all phenomena come into being and transform—and the accomplishment of the *Dao*—the existence of all things and beings. The notion is applied to Chinese literary theory to imply the natural and spontaneous creative process or the unsullied outcome of such process. This usage is also found in Bashō's *haikai*.

zaohuawu 造化物. Used by the Song scholar Lin Xiyi in his annotations to the

Zhuangzi to refer to the agency of the spontaneous changes and transformations of all phenomena, synonymous with *zaohua* in the *Zhuangzi*.

zaowuzhe 造物者. Although the literal meaning of the three characters is "creator," in the Daoist discourse it refers to neither a personified deity nor an intentional act of creation. The term is used in the *Zhuangzi* in accord with *zaohua*, referring to the innate force or energy that drives the natural changes of the universe.

Zhang Biaochen 張表臣 (dates unknown). Song dynasty (960–1279) scholar-official and the author of *Shanhugou shihua* (Coral remarks on poetry).

Zhang Hengqu 張橫渠 (1020–1077). Zhang Zai, Song dynasty Confucian scholar and one of the pioneers of the philosophical movement called "Study of the Way," often known as neo-Confucianism.

zhenren 真人. True Person or True Man, the Daoist sage described in the *Zhuangzi*. It refers to a person who exemplifies the true understanding of the *Dao*, who is able to have union with the *Dao,* to see from the viewpoint of the *Dao,* and not be limited by the conceptual and sensory apparatus. Such a person possesses extraordinary powers.

zhiyan (J. *shigen*) 卮言. "Goblet words," a metaphor used in the *Zhuangzi* for one of its basic literary devices. It refers to words that adapt to the changing nature of the world and thus are in harmony with the *Dao*.

Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (ca. 465–ca. 518). Liang dynasty (502–557) official and literary critic. The author of *Shi pin* (Classifications of poetry).

zhongyan 重言 (J. *jūgen*). Weighty words, one of the basic literary devices used in the *Zhuangzi.* It refers to words of wise men of the past, which have wisdom and authority. The two characters can also be read as *chongyan,* meaning words of wise men that are quoted repeatedly.

Zhou Bi 周弼 (1200–ca. 1257). Song dynasty scholar-poet and the compiler of *San ti shi* (Poems of three forms).

Zhuangzi 莊子. The second foundational text of the Daoist philosophical and religious tradition, the first being the *Laozi* or *Dao de jing*. It also is the name of the putative author of this text, who early historical sources suggest flourished between circa 350 BCE and 300 BCE.

Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi 莊子鬳齋口義 (Juanzhai's vernacular explanations of the *Zhuangzi*). One of the most influential interpretations of the Daoist classic, *Zhuangzi*. Written by Song dynasty scholar-official Lin Xiyi. Unlike the earliest extant commentary by Guo Xiang, which focuses on his understanding of Zhuangzi's philosophy of spontaneity, Lin's work not only incorporates the Song Confucian and Chan (Zen) Buddhist thoughts in his interpretation, but also frequently cites Chinese literature and literary criticism. Lin's commentary was read widely in Japan and proved to be the text through which Bashō and his fellow *haikai* poets studied the *Zhuangzi.*

Zhu lin qi xian 竹林七賢 (Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove). Traditionally

referring to Ruan Ji, Ji Kang, Shan Tao, Xiang Xiu, Liu Ling, Ruan Xian, and Wang Rong. In trying to avoid corrupt and dangerous politics, they were said to have engaged in drinking and philosophical discussion in a bamboo grove outside Luoyang, the ancient capital of China during the Wei-Jin period (220–420).

zide (J. *jitoku*) 自得. An important concept from the *Zhuangzi* emphasizing that all things and beings have their own reasons for existence and should not be judged by any established values and standards.

Ziling 子陵 (fl. 25 CE). Yan Ziling, a virtuous recluse of the Latter Han dynasty (25 CE–220 CE).

Ziqi 子綦. See Nanguo Ziqi.

ziran (J. *shizen* or *ji'nen*) 自然. Essentially meaning spontaneity and naturalness, or things being just as they are, it is the fundamental principle functioning at various levels of the Daoist discourse. It is also an important aesthetic attitude and criterion in Chinese and Japanese literary theories. In modern Chinese and Japanese it also refers to the external world, commonly translated as "nature."

ziran wuwei (J. *shizen mui*) 自然無為. Naturalness and inaction, naturalness and noninterference. See *ziran* and *wuwei*.

Ziyou 子游. See Yancheng Ziyou.

zōka (C. *zaohua*) 造化. See *zaohua*.

zōka 雑歌. Miscellaneous poems. One of the three categories in *Manyōshū*; also used in *waka* as a category for composition and classification of poems.

zōka ni shitagai, zōka ni kaere 造化にしたがひ、造化にかへれ. A poetic ideal advocated by Bashō. Inspired by the Daoist principle of following the *zaohua*, or the natural flow of the universe, it emphasizes naturalness and spontaneity, and the unity of the poetic mind and the external world, in *haikai* creation.

Zushi Rogan 図司呂丸 (d. 1693). Edo period *haikai* poet and disciple of Bashō.

Selected Bibliography

Classical Japanese Sources

Abe Kimio 阿部喜三男, Ōiso Yoshio 大礒義雄, and Abe Masami 阿部正美, eds. *Shōmon haikai shū* 蕉門俳諧集, vol. 1: *Koten haibungaku taikei* 古典俳文学大系, vol. 6. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.

Akahane Manabu 赤羽学, ed. *Kōchū haikai gosan* 校註俳諧御傘. Okayama: Fukutake shoten, 1980.

Hattori Dohō 服部土芳. *Sanzōshi* 三冊子. In vol. 7 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 校本芭蕉全集, ed. Imoto Nōichi 井本農一, Miyamoto Saburō 宮本三郎, Kon Eizō 今榮藏, and Ōuchi Hatsuo 大内初夫, 153–236. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1966.

Hirano Sōjō 平野宗浄, annot. *Kyōunshū zenshaku* 狂雲集全釈, vol. 1. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1976.

Iida Masakazu 飯田正一, Esaka Hironao 榎坂浩尚, and Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, eds. *Danrin haikai shū* 談林俳諧集, vol. 1: *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 3. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971.

Iida Masakazu 飯田正一, Esaka Hironao 榎坂浩尚, and Inui Hiroyuki 乾裕幸, eds. *Danrin haikai shū* 談林俳諧集, vol. 2: *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 4. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.

Imoto Nōichi 井本農一 and Hori Nobuo 堀信夫, eds. *Bashōshū* 芭蕉集. *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 5. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.

Kagami Shikō 各務支考. *Haikai jūron* 俳諧十論. In *Sōshaku Shikō no haïron* 總釈支考の俳論, ed. Minami Shinichi 南信一, 703–844. Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1983.

———. *Kuzu no matsubara* 葛の松原. In *Sōshaku Shikō no haïron,* ed. Minami Shinichi, 1–111. Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1983.

———. *Zoku goron* 続五論. In *Sōshaku Shikō no haïron,* ed. Minami Shinichi, 175–263. Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1983.

Kageki Hideo 蔭木英雄, annot. *Ikkyū Oshō zenshū: Kyōunshū* 一休和尚全集: 狂雲集, vol. 2. Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997.

Kihara Sōen 木原宗円, comp. *Orandamaru nibansen* 阿蘭陀丸二番船. In vol. 2 of *Danrin hakai shū,* 417–447. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.

Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟. *Haikai umoregi* 誹諧埋木. In *Kigin haïron shū* 季吟俳論集, ed. Ogata Tsutomu 尾形仂, 29–104. Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1960.

———. *Haikai yōi fūtei* 誹諧用意風躰. In *Kigin haïron shū,* ed. Ogata Tsutomu, 193–223. Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1960.

Kōno Riyū 河野李由 and Morikawa Kyoriku 森川許六. *Hentsuki* 篇突. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* 蕉門俳論俳文集 ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 171–193. *Koten haibungaku taikei*, vol. 10. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
———. *Uda no hōshi* 宇陀法師. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 231–252. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Matsue Shigeyori 松江重頼. *Enoko shū* 犬子集. In vol. 1 of *Teimon haikai shū* 貞門俳諧集, ed. Nakamura Shunjō 中村俊定, and Morikawa Akira 森川昭, 63–152. *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 1. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳, ed. *Shinzō Inustukubashū* 新増犬筑波集. In *Bashō izen haikai shū* 芭蕉以前俳諧集, ed. Ōno Shachiku 大野洒竹, 196–227. *Haikai bunko* 俳諧文庫, vol. 2. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1901.
———. *Tensuishō* 天水抄. In vol. 2 of *Teimon haikai shū* 貞門俳諧集, ed. Odaka Toshirō 小高敏郎, Morikawa Akira, and Inui Hiroyuki, 398–428. *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 2. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971.
Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉. *Genjūan no ki* 幻住庵記. In vol. 6 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Yayoshi Kan'ichi 弥吉菅一, Yokozawa Saburō 横澤三郎, and Ogata Tsutomu, 456–474. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962.
———. *Hatsukaishi hyōchū* 初懐紙評注. In vol. 7 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Miyamoto Saburō, Kon Eizō, and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 405–419. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1966.
———. *Kōhon Bashō zenshū* 校本芭蕉全集. Compiled under the supervision of Komiya Toyotaka 小宮豊隆. 10 vols. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962–1969.
———. *Nozarashi kikō* 野ざらし紀行. In vol. 6 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Yayoshi Kanichi, Yokozawa Saburō, and Ogata Tsutomu, 53–64. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962.
———. *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文. In vol. 6 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Yayoshi Kanichi, Yokozawa Saburō, and Ogata Tsutomu, 75–94. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962.
———. *Oku no hosomichi* おくのほそ道. In vol. 6 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Yayoshi Kanichi, Yokozawa Saburō, and Ogata Tsutomu, 103–138. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1962.
Miyake Shōzan 三宅嘯山, comp. *Kyo Ya shōsoku* 許野消息. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 325–339. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Miyamoto Saburō 宮本三郎 and Kon Eizō 今栄蔵, eds. *Shōmon haikai shū,* vol. 2. *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 7. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
Morikawa Kyoriku 森川許六, comp. *Honchō monzen* 本朝文選. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 379–501. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
———. *Rekidai kokkei den* 歴代滑稽伝. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 340–354. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Mukai Kyorai 向井去来. *Fugyoku ate Kyorai ronsho* 不玉宛去来論書. In *Shō-*

mon hairon haibun shū, ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 85–90. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
———. *Kyorai shō* 去来抄. In vol. 7 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Miyamoto Saburō, Kon Eizō, and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 63–150. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1966.
———. *Kyoriku ate Kyorai shokan* 許六宛去来書簡. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 91–100. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
———. *Tabine ron* 旅寝論. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 194–217. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Mukai Kyorai and Morikawa Kyoriku. *Haikai mondō* 俳諧問答. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 101–170. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Nakajima Zuiryū 中島随流. *Haikai hajakenshō* 誹諧破邪顕正. In vol. 2 of *Danrin haikai shū,* ed. Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki, 129–155. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971.
Nakamura Shunjō and Morikawa Akira, eds. *Teimon haikai shū,* vol. 1: *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 1. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因. *Kabashira no hyakku* 蚊柱百句. In vol. 2 of *Danrin haikai shū,* ed. Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki, 36–49. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
Odaka Toshirō, Morikawa Akira, and Inui Hiroyuki, eds. *Teimon haikai shū,* vol. 2: *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 2. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971.
Ōhara Chiharu 大原千春, comp. *Musashiburi* 武蔵曲. In vol. 1 of *Shōmon haikai shū,* ed. Abe Kimio, Abe Masami, and Ōiso Yoshio, 17–24. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, eds. *Shōmon hairon haibun shū.* In *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 10. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Okanishi, Ichū 岡西惟中. *Haikai mōgyū* 俳諧蒙求. In vol. 2 of *Danrin haikai shū,* ed. Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki, 82–111. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
———. *Hajakenshō hentō* 破邪顕正返答. In vol. 2 of *Danrin haikai shū,* ed. Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki, 156–166. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
———. *Kinrai haikai fūteishō* 近来俳諧風躰抄. In *Danrin Hairon shū* 談林俳論集, ed. Ogata Tsutomu, 4–185. Tokyo: Koten bunko, 1963.
———. *Shibu'uchiwa hentō* しぶ団返答. In vol. 2 of *Danrin haikai shū,* ed. Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki, 58–81. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
Okata Rihee 岡田利兵衛 ed. *Onitsura zenshū* 鬼貫全集 Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1968.
Saigyō. *Sanka shū* 山家集. Edited by Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐々木信綱. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994.
Saruhōshi 去法師. *Shibu'uchiwa* しぶうちわ. In vol. 2 of *Danrin haikai shū,* ed.

Iida Masakazu, Esaka Hironao, and Inui Hiroyuki, 41–57. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
Sugiyama Sanpū 杉山山風, comp. *Tokiwaya no kuawase* 常磐屋の句合. In vol. 7 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Miyamoto Saburō, Kon Eizō, and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 376–395. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1966.
Tachibana Hokushi 立花北枝. *Yamanaka mondō* 山中問答. In *Shōmon hairon haibun shū,* ed. Ōiso Yoshio and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 21–27. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Takarai Kikaku 宝井其角. *Inaka no kuawase* 田舎の句合. In vol. 7 of *Kōhon Bashō zenshū,* ed. Imoto Nōichi, Miyamoto Saburō, Kon Eizō, and Ōuchi Hatsuo, 357–375. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1966.
———, comp. *Minashiguri* 虚栗. In vol. 2 of *Shōmon haikai shū,* ed. Miyamoto Saburō and Kon Eizō, 25–52. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1972.
Yamaoka Genrin 山岡元隣. *Takaragura* 宝蔵. In vol. 2 of *Teimon haikai shū,* ed. Nakamura Shunjō and Morikawa Akira, 23–83. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1971.
Yamazaki Sōkan 山崎宗鑑. *Inu Tsukuba shū* 犬筑波集. In vol. 1 of *Teimon haikai shū,* ed. Nakamura Shunjō and Morikawa Akira, 44–62. *Koten haibungaku taikei,* vol. 1. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1970.
Zushi Rogan図司呂丸. *Kikigaki nanuka gusa* 聞書七日草. In *Sōshaku Shikō no hairon,* ed. Minami Shinichi, 919–1031. Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1983.

Classical Chinese Sources

Beijing daxue Beijing shifan daxue zhongwenxi jiaoshi tongxue 北京大学北京師範大学中文系教師同学. *Tao Yuanming yanjiu ziliao hui bian* 陶淵明研究資料彙編. 2 vols. in one. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961.
Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大学出版社. *Wei-Jin Nanbeichao wenxueshi cankao ziliao* 魏晋南北朝文学史参考資料. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1962.
Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, ed. *Zhongguo lidai wen lun xuan* 中國歴代文論選. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1979.
He Wenhuan 何文煥, ed. *Lidai shihua* 歴代詩話. 2 vols. 1770 ed. Reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
Huang Jian 黄堅, ed. *Gu wen zhen bao* 古文真宝. 1660 Kimura ed. Reprinted in vol. 10 of *Wakokubon kanseki bunshū* 和刻本漢籍文集, ed. Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1979.
Jiang Kui 姜夔. *Baishi Daoren shi shuo* 白石道人詩説. In *Lidai shihua,* ed. He Wenhuan, 680–683. Beijing: Zhonghau shuju, 1982.
Lin Xiyi 林希逸, annot. *Laozi Juanzhai kouyi* 老子鬳齊口義. 1627 Kyoto ed. Reprinted in vol. 9 of *Wakokubon shoshi taisei* 和刻本諸子大成, comp. Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也, 213–255. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976.
———, annot. *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi* 莊子鬳齊口義. 1629 Kyoto ed. Re-

printed in vols. 11 and 12 of *Wakokubon shoshi taisei*, comp. Nagasawa Kikuya, 410–548; 1–141. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976.

Lu Ji 陸機. *Wen fu* 文賦. Reprinted in *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan* 六臣注文選, 309–316. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

Ruan Ji 阮籍. *Ruan Ji ji* 阮籍集. In *Ruan Ji ji jiao zhu* 阮籍集校注. Edited and annotated by Chen Bojun 陳伯君. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

Shao Bao 邵寶, annot. *Du Shaoling xiansheng funlei jizhu* 杜少陵先生分類集注. 1656 Kyoto ed. Reprinted in vols. 3 and 4 of *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei* 和刻本漢詩集成, comp. Nagasawa Kikuya. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1974–1975.

Shao Fu 邵傅, annot. *Du lü ji jie* 杜律集解. 1695 Kyoto ed. Reprinted in vol. 3 of *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei,* comp. Nagasawa Kikuya. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1974.

Su Shi 蘇軾. *Su Dongpo quanji* 蘇東坡全集. 1647 Kyoto ed. Reprinted in vol. 8 of *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei,* comp. Nagasawa Kikuya. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1976.

Tao Qian 陶潛. *Tao Jingjie ji* 陶靖節集. 1664 Takemura ed. Reprinted in vol. 17 of *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei,* comp. Nagasawa Kikuya. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1977.

Wang Shizhen 王世貞, comp. *Yuan ji huo fa shixue quanshu* 圓機活法詩学全書. Yao ed. Reprinted in Kyoto, 1656.

Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之. *Shiren yu xie* 詩人玉屑. 1639 Kyoto ed. Reprinted in vol. 17 of *Wakokubon kanseki zuihitsu shū* 和刻本漢籍随筆集, comp. Nagasawa Kikuya. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1977.

Xu Ling 徐陵. *Yu tai xin yong* 玉臺新咏. In *Gyokudai shinei sakuin* 玉臺新咏索引, ed. Obi Ko'ichi 小尾郊一 and Takashi Masao 高志真夫. Tokyo: Yamamoto shoten, 1976.

Xu Zhen'e 徐震堮, ed. *Shi shuo xin yu jiao jian* 世說新語校箋. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984.

Yan Yu 嚴羽. *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話. In *Canglang shihua jiao shi* 滄浪詩話校釋. Edited by Guo Shaoyu. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1961.

Yin Xiang 殷翔 and Guo Quanzhi 郭全芝, annots. *Ji Kang ji zhu* 嵇康集注. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1986.

Yu Ji 于濟 and Cai Zhengsun 蔡正孫, comps. *Jingxuan Tang Song qianjia lianzhu shige* 精選唐宋千家聯珠詩格. Yoshinoya ed. Reprinted in Kyōto, 1646.

Zhongguo wenshi ziliao bianji weiyuanhui 中國文史資料編集委員會. *Zhongguo meixueshi ziliao xuanbian* 中國美学史資料選編. 2 vols. Taibei: Fuxin shuju, 1984.

Zhong Rong 鐘榮. *Shi pin* 詩品. In *Lidai shihua,* 1: 1–24. Ed. He Wenhuan. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.

Zhou Bi 周弼, ed. *Tang xian san ti shi jiafa* 唐賢三体詩家法. Yamamoto ed. Reprinted in Kyōto, 1665.

Modern Scholarship

Acker, William. *T'ao the Hermit: Sixty Poems by T'ao Ch'ien (365–627)*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1952.

Andō Tsuguo 安東次男 . *Bashō: Sono kotoba to kokoro no bungaku* 芭蕉 : その詞と心の文学 . Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1965.

———. "Bashō's Colors." *Chanoyu Quarterly* 47 (1986): 31–44.

———. *Zoku fūkyō shimatsu* 続風狂始末 . Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1989.

Arntzen, Sonja, trans. *Ikkyū and the Crazy Cloud Anthology*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986.

Barnhill, David Landis. "The Journey Itself Home: The Religiosity of the Literary Works of Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694)." Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1986.

Birrell, Anne, trans. *New Songs from a Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982.

Britton, Dorothy. *A Haiku Journey: Bashō's Narrow Road to a Far Province*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1974.

Bush, Susan. *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Bush, Susan, and Christian Murck, eds. *Theories of the Arts in China*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Carter, Steven. "On the Bare Branch: Bashō and the Haikai Profession." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 1 (1997): 57–69.

———. *The Road to Komatsubara: A Classical Reading of the Renga Hyakuin*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Council on East Asian Studies, 1987.

———. *Traditional Japanese Poetry: An Anthology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Chang, Kang-i Sun. *Six Dynasties Poetry*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Connery, Christopher Leigh. *The Empire of the Text: Writing and Authority in Early Imperial China*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998.

Crowley, Cheryl. "Putting Makoto into Practice: Onitsura's *Hitorigoto*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 1 (1995): 1–46.

Dale, Peter N. *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Ebara Taizō 穎原退蔵 . "Bashō to Rō Sō" 芭蕉と老荘 . In vol. 11 of *Ebara Taizō chosakushū* 穎原退蔵著作集 , 72–79. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1981.

———. "Fueki ryūkō to karumi" 不易流行と軽み . *Haiku kenkyū* 俳句研究 4 (1940): 48–67.

———. "Karumi no shingi" 軽みの真義 . *Bashō kenkyū* 芭蕉研究 12, no. 2 (1943): 32–54.

Ebersole, Gary. L. "Matsuo Bashō and the Way of Poetry in the Japanese Religious Tradition." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1981.

Fujikawa Fumiko. "The Influence of Tu Fu on Bashō." *Monumenta Nipponica* 20, nos. 3–4 (1965): 374–388.
Fujiwara Shigekazu 藤原成一 . *Fūryū no shisō* 風流の思想. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1994.
Fukumoto Ichiro 復本一郎. *Bashō no Biishiki* 芭蕉の美意識. Tokyo: Furukawa shobō, 1979.
Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司 . *Chūgoku chūsei no shūkyō to bunka* 中國中世の宗教と文化 . Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1982.
———. *Chūgoku no tetsugaku shūkyō geijutsu* 中國の哲学宗教芸術. Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1988.
———. *Dōkyō shisōshi kenkyū* 道教思想史研究 . Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1988.
———. *Dōkyō to higashi Ajia: Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon* 道教と東アジア : 中国朝鮮 日本. Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1989.
———. *Dōkyō to Nihon bunka* 道教と日本文化. Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1982.
———. *Dōkyō to Nihon Shisō* 道教と日本思想. Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1985.
Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光. *Chanzong yu Zhongguo wenhua* 禅宗与中國文化 . Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988.
Graham, A. C., trans. *The Book of Lieh-tzu: A Classic of the Tao.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
———, trans. *Chuang-tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book of Chuang-tzu.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981.
Graham, Patricia J. *Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.
Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞. *Song shihua kao* 宋詩話考. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫. *Chūgoku no shii* 中国の思惟. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1985.
Henderson, Harold G. *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Bashō to Shiki.* New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958.
Hightower, James Robert. *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Ji (A.D. 210–263).* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
———. *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
Hirota Jirō 廣田二郎. *Bashō no geijutsu—Sono tenkai to haikei* 芭蕉の芸術ーその展開と背景 . Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1968.
———. *Bashō to To Ho—Eikyō no tenkai to taikei* 芭蕉と杜甫ー影響の展開と体系 . Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1990.
———. *Shōmon to Sōji* 蕉門と荘子. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1979.
Holzman, Donald. *Poetry and Politics—The Life and Works of Juan Chi A.D. 210–263.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
Horikiri Minoru 堀切実. *Hyōgen toshite no haikai* 表現としての俳諧. Tokyo: Perikansha, 1988.
Ide Hiroshi 井出大 . *Bashō Buson to Chūgoku shijin* 芭蕉蕪村と中國詩人. Nagano: Ginga shobō, 1988.
Imoto Nōichi. "Shutten to iu koto ni tsuite—Bashō shutten kō" 出典ということについてー芭蕉出典考. In vol. 32 of *Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō*

sōsho: Bashō 日本文学研究資料叢書: 芭蕉, comp. Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho kankōkai, 50–57. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1972.

Ishikawa Hachirō 石川八朗. "Bashō no To Ho juyō shōron" 芭蕉の杜甫受容小論. In vol. 33 of *Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho: Bashō* 日本文学研究資料叢書: 芭蕉, comp. Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho kankōkai, 46–53. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1977.

Kamens, Edward. *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫. *Higashi kara mita ka to kō to* 東から見た河と江と. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1983.

Karaki, Junzō 唐木順三. "Perspective on the Self: Suki, Susabi and Sabi in Medieval Japanese Literature." *Chanoyu Quarterly* 35 (1983): 30–51.

———. "The Spirit of *Wabi.*" *Chanoyu Quarterly* 3 (Autumn 1971): 1–6.

———. "Wafting Petals and Windblown Leaves: Impermanence in the Aesthetics of Shinkei, Sōgi and Bashō." *Chanoyu Quarterly* 37 (1984): 7–27.

Keene, Donald, trans. "Bashō's Journey of 1684." *Asia Major* 7 (December 1959): 94–108.

———, trans. "Bashō's Journey to Sarashina." In *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture,* 109–130. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1971.

———, trans. *Essays in Idleness.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

———. "Matsunaga Teitoku and the Beginning of *Haikai* Poetry." In *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture,* 71–93. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1971.

———. *World Within Walls.* New York: Grove Press, 1976.

Kerkham, H. Eleanor. "Notes from the Traveler's Satchel." *The Tea Leaves* 2 (Autumn 1965): 26–46.

Kimura, Eiichi. "Taoism and Chinese Thought." *Acta Asiatica* 24 (1974): 1–18.

Knechtges, David R., ed. and trans. *Wen Xuan, or, Selection of Refined Literature,* I. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Kohn, Livia. "Daoism in Japan: Positions and Evaluations." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 389–412.

Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之. *Jōdai nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku* 上代日本文学と中國文学. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1962.

———. *Kokinshū izen shi to uta no kōryū* 古今集以前詩と歌の交流. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1976.

Kon Eizō 今栄蔵. "Danrin haikai oboegaki—Gūgensetsu no genryū to bungakushiteki jittai" 談林俳諧覚書 — 寓言説の源流と文学史的実態. *Kokugo kokubun kenkyū* 国語国文学研究 7 (1953): 1–27.

Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一. "Bashō to gūgensetsu" 芭蕉と寓言説, 1 and 2. *Nihon gakushiin kiyō* 日本学士院紀要 18, no. 2 (June 1960): 97–118, and no. 3 (November 1960): 145–184.

———. *Fūga no makoto* 風雅の誠. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1970.

———. *A History of Japanese Literature,* vol. 2. Translated by Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele. Edited by Earl Miner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Kuriyama Riichi 栗山理一. "Bashō hairon no kōzō" 芭蕉俳論の構造. In vol. 33 of *Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōshō: Bashō,* 228–246. Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1977.

LaFleur, William Roger. *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

———, trans. *Mirror for the Moon: A Selection of Poems by Saigyō (1118–1190).* New York: New Directions, 1978.

———. "Saigyō and the Buddhist Value of Nature." *History of Religions* 13, no. 2 (November 1973): 93–128, and no. 3 (February 1974): 227–248.

Lau, D. C., trans. *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.

Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics: The She King or the Book of Poetry.* Vol. 4. Taibei: Wenxing shudian, 1966.

Li, Chi 李祁. "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 24 (1962–1963): 234–247.

Lin, Shuen-fu, and Stephen Owen, eds. *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Liu Dajie 劉大杰. *Zhongguo wenxue fada shi* 中國文学發達史. Taibei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1983.

Liu, James J.Y. *The Art of Chinese Poetry.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

———. *Chinese Theories of Literature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Li Zehou 李澤厚, and Liu Gangji 劉綱紀, comps. *Zhongguo meixueshi* 中国美学史. Vols. 1 and 2. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987.

Mair, Victor. *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu.* New York: Bantam Books, 1994.

Marra, Michele. *The Aesthetics of Discontent: Politics and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Literature.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991.

Mather, Richard B., trans. *A New Account of Tales of the World.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.

Matsuo Yasuaki 松尾靖秋. "Transcending the Mundane: Chinese Poems and Japanese Literature." *Chanoyu Quarterly* (Winter 1970): 34–42.

McCullough, Helen Craig. *Brocade by Night: Kokin Wakashū and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.

———. *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.

———, trans. and annot. *Kokin Wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Mezaki, Tokue. "Aesthete-recluses during the Transition from Ancient to Medieval Japan." In *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature,* ed. Earl Miner, 151–180. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Miner, Earl. *Japanese Linked Poetry: An Account with Translations of Renga and Haikai Sequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.

———, comp. *Japanese Poetic Diaries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Miner, Earl, and Odagiri Hiroko, trans. *The Monkey's Straw Raincoat and Other Poetry of the Bashō School.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Mitsuta Kazunobu 光田和伸. "Renga shinshiki no sekai" 連歌新式の世界. *Kokugo kokubun* 国語国文, 65, no. 5 (May 1996): 336–352.

Nieda Tadashi 仁枝忠 . *Bashō ni eikyōshita kanshibun* 芭蕉に影響した漢詩文. Tokyo: Kyōiku shuppan sentā, 1974.

———. *Haibungaku to Kanbungaku* 俳文学と漢文学. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1978.

Noguchi Tetsurō 野口鉄郎, Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, Nakamura Shōhachi 中村璋八, and Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠, eds. *Senshū Dōkyō to Nihon* 選集道教と日本 . 3 vols. Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppansha, 1996–1997.

Nonomura Katsuhide 野々村勝英. "Bashō to Rōji" 芭蕉と老子. *Gengo to bungei* 言語と文芸 62, no. 1 (1969): 16–27.

———. "Bashō to Sōji to Sōgaku" 芭蕉と荘子と宋学. *Renga haikai kenkyū* 連歌俳諧研究 15 (1957): 33–39.

———. "Danrin haikai no gūgenron o megutte" 談林俳諧の寓言論をめぐって. *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 国語と国文学 33, no. 11 (1956): 36–44.

Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一 . *Chūgoku no inton shisō* 中国の隠遁思想. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1988.

Ogata Tsutomu 尾形仂. *Bashō no sekai* 芭蕉の世界. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1963.

———. *Haikaishi ronkō* 俳諧史論考. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1977.

———. *Za no bungaku* 座の文学. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1973.

———. *Zoku Bashō Buson* 続芭蕉蕪村. Tokyo: Kashinsha, 1985.

Okazaki Yoshie 岡崎義恵. *Fūryū no shisō* 風流の思想. 2 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1947–1948.

Oldenburg, Carl. *Frog Croaks: A Salute to Japanese Haiku.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1975.

Omine, Akira. "Nature, Man and Poetry: Bashō and Holderlin." *Chanoyu Quarterly* 45 (1986): 24–33.

———. "Probing the Japanese Experience of Nature." Translated by Dennis Hirota. *Chanoyu Quarterly* 51 (1987): 7–32.

Ōta Seikyū 太田青丘. *Nihon kagaku to Chūgoku shigaku* 日本歌学と中国詩学. Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1958.

———. *Bashō to To Ho* 芭蕉と杜甫. Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 1969.

Owen, Stephen. *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981.
———. *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought.* Cambridge, MA: The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992.
———. *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
Paper, Jordan. "'Riding on a White Cloud': Aesthetics as Religion in China." *Religion* 15 (1985): 33–28.
Pilgrim, Richard B. "The Religio-Aesthetic of Matsuo Bashō." *The Eastern Buddhist* 10 (1977): 35–53.
Pollack, David. *The Fracture of Meanings: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.
Qiu, Peipei, "Adaptation and Transformation: A Study of Daoist Influence on Early Seventeenth Century *Haikai.*" In *Currents in Japanese Culture,* ed. Amy V. Heinrich, 185–203. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
———. "Aesthetic of Unconventionality: *Fūryū* in Ikkyū's Poetry." *Japanese Language and Literature* 35 (2001), 2: 135–156.
———. "Bashō's *Fūryū* and the Aesthetic of *Shōyōyū:* Poetics of Eccentricity and Unconventionality." *Japan Studies Review* 5 (May 2001): 1–36.
———. "Inventing the New through the Old: The Essence of *Haikai* and the *Zhuangzi.*" *Early Modern Japan* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 2–18.
———. "Onitsura's *Makoto* and the Daoist Concept of the Natural." *Philosophy East & West* 51 (2001) 3: 232–246.
Qi Xubang 漆緒邦 . *Daojia sixiang yu Zhongguo gudai wenxue lilun* 道家思想与中国古代文学理論. Beijing: Beijing shifan xueyuan chubanshe, 1988.
Riffaterre, Michael. *Semiotics of Poetry.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.
Rodd, Laurel Rasplica, and Mary Catherine Henkenius, trans. and annots. *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
Sanford, James H. *Zen-Man Ikkyū.* Chico, CA: Scholar's Press, 1981.
Satō Madoka 佐藤圓 . *Bashō to Zen* 芭蕉と禅 . Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1973.
Satō Masahide 佐藤正英 . *Inton no shisō: Saigyō o megutte* 隠遁の思想 — 西行をめぐって. Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppansha, 1977.
Schipper, Kristofer. *The Taoist Body.* Translated by Karen C. Duval. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
Schwartz, Benjamin I. *The World of Thought in Ancient China.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985.
Senda, Minoru. "Daoist Roots in Japanese Culture." *Japan Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (April–June 1988): 133–138.
Shirane, Haruo. "Aisatsu: The Poet as Guest." In *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward Seidensticker,* ed.

Aileen Gatten and Anthony Hood Chambers, 89–113. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1993.
———, ed. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600–1900*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
———. *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.
Shively, Donald. "Bashō: The Man and the Plant." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16, nos. 1 and 2 (1953): 146–161.
Stevens, John, trans. *Wild Ways: Zen Poems of Ikkyū.* Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1995.
Sudō Matsuo 須藤松雄. *Bashō no shizen* 芭蕉の自然. Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1982.
———. *Nihon bungaku no shizen* 日本文学の自然. Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1977.
Suwa Haruo 諏訪春雄, and Hino Tatsuo 日野龍夫, comps. *Edo bungaku to Chūgoku* 江戸文学と中国. Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1977.
Suzuki, Shūji 鈴木修次. *Chūgoku bungaku to Nihon bungaku* 中国文学と日本文学. Tokyo: Tōkyō shoseki kabushiki gaisha, 1978.
Tamamura, Takeji, and Gaynor Sekimori. "Literature from the Gozan Zen Temples: A Historical Overview." Translated by Gaynor Sekimori. *Chanoyu Quarterly* 43 (1985): 14–29.
Tsunoda, Ryusaku, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, comps. *Sources of Japanese Tradition.* 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
Ueda, Makoto, comp. and trans. *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.
———. "Bashō and the Poetics of Haiku." *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 21 (1963): 423–431.
———. *Literary and Art Theories in Japan.* Cleveland, OH: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1967.
———. *Matsuo Bashō.* Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1982.
Ueno Yōzō 上野洋三. *Bashō ron* 芭蕉論. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1986.
Ury, Marian. "Recluses and Eccentric Monks: Tales from *The Hosshinshū* by Kamo no Chōmei." *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, no. 2 (1972): 149–173.
Varley, H. Paul. *Japanese Culture.* 3rd ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984.
Watson, Burton. *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
———, trans. and ed. *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry from Early Times to the Thirteenth Century.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
———, trans. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
———, trans. *Su Tung-P'o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

Welch, Holmes, and Anna Seidel. *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.
Willis, Ben. *The Tao of Art: The Inner Meaning of Chinese Art and Philosophy.* London: Century, 1987.
Xu Fuguan 徐复觀. *Zhongguo yishu jingshen* 中國藝術精神. Tabei: Zhongyang shuju, 1966.
Yamamoto Heiichirō 山本平一郎. "Haikai to Sōji ga gūgen" 俳諧と荘子が寓言. *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 国語と国文学 1 and 2 (1937): 60–87, 167–192.
Yamamoto Kenkichi 山本健吉. *Bashō* 芭蕉. 2 vols. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1955.
Yampolsky, Philip. *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
Yoshikawa Kojiro 吉川幸次郎. *Chūgoku bungakushi* 中國文学史. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974.
Yu, Pauline. *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
Yuasa, Nobuyuki, trans. *Bashō: The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 1966.
Zhang Shaokang 張少康. *Gudian wenyi meixue lungao* 古典文藝美學論稿. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1988.
Zhang Wenxun 張文勛. *Ru Dao Fo meixue sixiang tansuo* 儒道佛美学思想探索. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1988.

Index of *Haikai* Verses Cited

Index

About the Author

Peipei Qiu is associate professor of Japanese at Vassar College. Her studies of Japanese poetry and modern Japanese novelists have been published in English, Japanese, and Chinese. She is the recipient of a number of honors and grants, among them the Mellon Foundation Grant, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Postdoctoral Fellowship, the Japan Foundation Dissertation Research Fellowship, and the Japan Foundation Fellowship for professional researchers.